MOVEMENT September - December 1973
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere/ YS-LJS

(Voir aussi: W8- Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
'*Article on file'* at National Archives

1973-09Sept12	Letter to Bryan (B) re: RD's withdrawing from his project
1973-09Sept16a	RD note to self: the movement degenerating, disintegrating
1973-09Sept17	RD: To LT faction: re *L C* on ''Canadian Unions''
1973-09Sept20-1a	Note to self: it is essential we reconstitute a tendency
1973-09Sep10-lc85	Morgentaler faces new charges (on abortions)
1973-09Sept-lc85-1	Abortion rights advocate indicted – Morgentaler faces charges
1973-09Sept-lc85-1	Launch broad defense (for Morgentaler)
1973-09Sept-lc85-2	Fallout from ferry strike (BC NDP 're-assesses' right to strike)
1973-09Sept-lc85-3	*(Y-R)* 'Women's ministry' – debate in BC-NDP (page 1) photos
1973-09Sept-lc85-4	Toronto Gay Pride Week – Pompidou forced to release Krivine
**1973-Sept-lc85*	*PST enters Argentine election – Peron tries to stem crisis (file)*
**1973-Sept-lc85*	*US socialists (SWP) hold 25th convention (on file)*
**1973-Sept-lc85*	*James P. Cannon interview-The radicalization then & now (file)*
**1973-Sept-lc85*	*Where (Quebec ultraleft) GMR goes wrong on Vietnam*
1973-09Sept-lc85-5	Three papers join forces in drive for 2500 new readers
1973-09Sept24-lc	Protest repression in Chile! Canada must open doors
1973-09Sept-lc86-1	Build united actions against Chile coup
1973-09Sept-lc86-2	Behind the rightist military coup in Chile
*1973-Sept-lc86	Stalinists sowed illusion in Allende regime (on file)
1973-09Sept-lc86-3	Missing – the revolutionary party – F.I. Warned

1973-09Sept-lc86-4 Support builds for Dr. Morgentaler – Trial begins Sept. 24

*1973-Sept24-lc86 Anti-abortion lobby gains ally – Maoists with bosses (file)

1973-09Sept-lc86-5 NDP women challenge (BC NDP Premier) Barrett to act

1973-09Sept-lc86-6 Women's liberation and native rights

*1973-Sept24-lc86 NDP, labor expose profiteering – Trudeau's measures (file)

1973-Sept24-lc86 (Y-R) How rail strikers defied Parliament (Interview) (file)

*1973-Sept-lc86 (Y-R) Saskatchewan 'Waffle" debates relation to NDP (file)

1973-09Sept-lc86 (Y-R*) Ontario NDP expels 2 socialists

1973-09Sept-lc86-9 (Y-R*) Why socialists fight to belong to NDP Reply Vichert

1973-09Sept-lc86-10 Find out where the action is (YS/LJS-LSA/LSO)– Sub drive

1973-10Oct-IB-0 (cover) LSA/LSO Vol. 1 No. 1: Statement of a Tendency

**1973-Oct-* *IIDB-Vol.X-No.16 (SWP) The real record of the Canadian. Section:Reply to Germain, by Riddell & Young (file)*

**1973-Oct-* *IIDB-Vol.X-No.17 (SWP) The Test of Ireland, by Gerry Foley: How the (GB) IMG changed from a mass orientation to vanguardism; Extension of Latin American guerrilla war line to Europe; Trotsky on 'mass' terrorism*

1973-10Oct8-lc87 Act now to defend victims of Chile coup!

1973-10Oct-lc87-2 Ottawa's role in toppling Allende

**1973Oct-lc87* *Savage repression hits Chilean workers (on file)*

**1973-Oct-lc87(4)* *Chile: How not to defend victims (debate with CP) (on file)*

**1973-Oct-lc87* *Argentine workers protest (Chili) coup (on file)*

1973-10Oct-lc87-6 Trial of Dr. Morgentaler begins

1973-10Oct-lc87-7 BC unionists fight (NDP) government threat to union shop

1973-10Oct-lc87-8 (Ms Manon) Leger takes on Bourassa (LSO candidate)

1973-10Oct-lc87-9	What really caused the 'FLQ crisis'?
1973-10Oct-lc87-9	New facts point to provocation (of FLQ) (by Art Young)
1973-10Oct22-lc88	End US, Canadian aid to Israeli aggression
1973-10Oct-lc88-2	On the Arab Revolution – Territories seized by Israel in 1948
1973-10Oct-lc88-2b	Roots of the Mideast conflict U.S. aid sustains Israel
1973-10Oct-lc88-3	Women's meet to build Morgentaler defense
1973-10Oct-lc88-4	BC labor holds women's conference; Supreme Court denies
1973-10Oct-lc88-5	BC labor attacks new (NDP) Labor Code
1973-10Oct-lc88-6	Editorial-- No new shackles on BC labor
1973-10Oct-lc88-7	*(Y-R)* Sask. Waffle votes to quit NDP
**1973-Oct-lc88*	*Why Parti Québécois no alternative (Art Young) (on file)*
1973-10Oct-lc88-8	Wide protests against Chili repression – Ottawa refuses asylum
**1973-Oct-lc88*	*Firsthand account of Chile repression – Three who escaped*
**1973-Oct-lc88*	*Socialist campaign in Argentina – Presidential candidate (file)*
**1973-Oct-lc88*	*Spain & Chili—Lessons of Popular Frontism (on file)*
1973-10Oct-lc88-9a	Public forum series launches new HQ for Winnipeg LSA
1973-10Oct-lc88-9b	On target in drive for new readers – Quota raised to 2,600
1973-11Nov5	RD handwritten note re: Old Favorites Bookstore
1973-11Nov11-1a	Note on Political Cttee. Meeting
1973-11Nov17a	RD document: ‘’Critique of *LC* on BC Women’s Ministry’’
1973-Nov.	LSA/LSO IB-Vol. 1 No. 2: a. Splitters join RMG; b. Open Letter of Leaderes opf the Split; c. Comment on the Open Letter; d. PC position on unity with RMG

**1973-Nov.*	*LSA/LSO IDB-Vol. 2 No.1: PC Statement on Popular Frontism file)*
**1973-Nov.*	*IIDB VolX-No21 (SWP) Argentina, Uruguay, Europe, Arab Revolution (file)*
1973-11Nov5-lc89	Mideast accord won't bring peace – Palestinian rights *(file)*
1973-11Nov-lc89-1b	Editorial-- Canadian troops – out of Mideast!
1973-11Nov-lc89-1c	Why socialists support the Arab side (from US-SWP Militant)
*1973-Nov-lc89	Israelis denounce Zionism – Arab socialists on war (on file)
1973-11Nov-lc89-2	LSO campaign reached thousands (Manon Leger candidate)
**1973-Nov-lc89*	*PQ increases vote in Quebec election, by Art Young (on file)*
1973-11Nov-lc89-3	Women march for Dr. Morgentaler
1973-11Nov-lc89-4	300 at student women's conference
1973-11Nov-lc89-5	Make Barrett apply women's program! -- BC NDP convention
1973-11Nov-lc89-6	BC labor, NDP ranks oppose Bill 11 (NDP Labor Code)
1973-11Nov-lc89-7	Editorial – Force gov't to act in workers' interests – at BC NDP
1973-11Nov-lc89-8	Chile protests continue – Extra effort needed to reach our goal
1973-11Nov-lc89-9	The poverty of NDP 'theory' – ideal is 'democratic socialism'
**1973-Nov-lc89*	*Are there two stages in fight for socialism? (coup in Chile)(file)*
1973-11Nov19-lc90	(Quebec) Jury acquits Dr. Morgentaler – 'A victory for women'
1973-11Nov-lc90-1	Keep up pressure for abortion rights – Save Chilean prisoners
1973-11Nov-lc90-2	Abortion laws put on trial
1973-11Nov-lc90-3	BC NDP rebukes government
**1973-Nov-lc90*	*Mideast ceasefire-- nothing settled (on file)*
**1973-Nov-lc90*	*Behind the 'energy crisis' – effects of capitalist anarchy (on file)*
1973-11Nov-lc90-4	Tour built Chile defense actions – Students support teachers

**1973-Nov-lc90*	*Chili-- Allende's long march to disaster – Lessons of coup (file)*
**1973-Nov-lc90*	*What political role for Quebec labor – election results (file)*
1973-11Nov-lc90-5	Celebrates Russian Revolution – Spanish anti-Franco arrests
1973-12Dec3a	Flyer: Teacher power and what it can mean (RD critique)
1973-12Dec4	Letter to Cynthia & Maurice (BC) re Ministry of Women
**1973-Dec-*	*IB LSA/LSO Vol.1 No.3: "(RCT) Splitters...Justify walkout"; PC Statement*
**1973-Dec-*	*IB LSA/LSO Vol.1 No.4: PC Convention reports; RCT Report; Appeals (file)*
**1973-Dec*	*(unsigned, undated) Call for a Tendency (re: IEC Majority on Guerrilla warfare)(file)*
**1973-Dec-*	*IIDB V.x No. 24 (SWP) Crisis of LCR, Germain (vs. Horowitz on nationalism, Bolivia, Communique on division in FI (file)*
1973-12Dec98	(Undated) letter to Cynthia & Maurice re: critique of article
1973-12Dec99	*Transcription from the original:* ‘’JY on nationalism’’ (& UT)
1973-12Dec3-lc91	What (NDP) solution for 'Energy Crisis'?
1973-12Dec-lc91-2	Defend Dr. Morgentaler! Government appeals acquittal
1973-12Dec-lc91-3	Government inaction angers BC women
1973-12Dec-lc91-4	Manitoba NDP must support native and women's rights
1973-12Dec-lc91-5	Court rejects native rights over James Bay Hydro development
1973-12Dec-lc91-6	Saskatchewan Waffle debate – a revolutionary program needed
1973-12Dec-lc91-7	'Let refugees from Chile into Canada!' - Exposé of gov't spying
**1973-Dec-lc91*	*Open door to Chile refuges! Canada denies asylum (on file)*
**1973-Dec-lc91*	*(CCLA -- Canadian) Appeal for aid to prisoners in Chile (file)*
1973-12Dec-lc91-8	Editorials – UN 'peacekeeping' aimed against Arabs

**1973-Dec-lc91*	*Editorial – UN 'peacekeeping' aimed against Arabs (on file)*
**1973-Dec-lc91*	*Israel-- a colonial-settler state – Zionism a trap for Jews (file)*
1973-12Dec-lc91-9	Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco on the permanent revolution
1973-12Dec-lc91-9	Hugo Blanco on (Trotsky's theory) the permanent revolution
1973-12Dec-lc91-10	Political rights denied McGill YS –Forums hear activists
1973-12Dec17-lc92	Oil trusts, government rob working people – Dr. Morgentaler
1973-12Dec-lc92-2	Dr. Morgentaler 'Acquittal a tremendous victory'
*1973-Dec-lc92	Why capitalism oppresses women –US socialist (file)
1973-12Dec-lc92-3	Manitoba NDP debates resources policy
1973-12Dec-lc92-4	Alberta women form caucus in NDP
1973-12Dec-lc92-5	Editorial – New wiretap law Oks government spying
1973-12Dec-lc92-6	Sask. Natives occupy legislature, Manitoba native women meet
1973-12Dec-lc92-7	NDP paper (Sask. '*Commonwealth*') defends Arab rights
1973-12Dec-lc92-8	'Open the doors to Chile refugees!" -- H. Allende on tour file)
1973-12Dec-lc92-9a	Political prisoners committee sets out plans
1973-12Dec-lc92-9b	Manpower Minister Andras – Canada is open....to refugees'
**1973-Dec-lc92*	*Joe Burki, pioneer revolutionary socialist – obituary (See W12)*
1973-Nov	*IIB Vol2 No.1 Political Committee statement on popular frontism (file+MIA)*

September 13, 1973
Toronto

Bryan B

Dear comrade Bryan

Early this summer I acquainted you with my grave misgivings about my proceedx with your academic educational project. (1) I told you that I did not see how you could go through with the oral examinination when you have read little if any of the material that my writing has been based on. And (2) I told you of the incident when 4 or 6 Wafflers from your campus asked a mutual acquaintance how Dowson's ghost writing was coming along. A startling incident which I told you could completely ruin any academic carser should you care to pursue one.

Nonetheless with your brushing these matters aside I agreed to once aga in pick up the project that had been laid aside by the internal dispute. Shotrly after I settled in at Poundmaker I got to work and roughed out in some detail the section on the CP and its response to the new radicalization.

Then a series of problems commenced to intervene. With the failure of the CO to provide one of the weekend speakers and the unpreparedness of another to come through I took over the educationals at one of the weekends. I accepted an assignment for another weekend and worked several days on it- -although it did not come off. As the operation of the camp deteriorated I directed some energy to the lodge and with one comrade painted the whole front and with another worked for a week on the fireplace. There were other extended diversions when guests came up and there was nostaff. I also falt it necessary since three months after the convention we were committed to the re-openining of the discussion on nationalism in Canada, to spend some time on studying such key books as Abella's and Teeple's--along with Lenin.

At the same time I became increasingly disturbed from recieving issue to issue of Labor Challenge with what seems to me to be clearly a sectarian turn of our movement particularly with regards to our longstanding strategic orientation to the NDP

You should know that these developments have led me to resign from the staff of the movement after some 28 years. I am now looking for a job and as you can appreciate having some difficulty.

The developments over the past year or so (since we made our agreement that if you moved into the book circualtion I would write your paper) have led quite understandably to a deterioration in our personal relations. Even completely discounting all the rumours of what I hear have been said, it seems to me we do cnot have a praternal relationship and hardly a comradely one--both of which are highly desireable for a useful collaboration on such a project.

I would therefore like to pull out of the agreement. Of course I do so withthe greatest reluctance. There is the compensating factor that through it you managed to see your way clear to move in on the book circulation for which you have been truly indispensable. Possibly it allowed you to rise to what I was convinced was your responsibility anyway. But believe me I went into the agreement wihout cynicism or thought of maneuvering you.

I will turn over the notes on the CP and anything else I have relevant tif you wish The other essays I wrote in your possession are relevant to the major project of course. As soon as I get employment I will try to recompense any financial outlay you had to make to stay in.

comradely

(Ross)

September 16, 1973

Looking back at the meeting that agreed to move towards the formation of a teddency. It was apparent that all the comrades there but perhaps Ford, Harry, Zane are out of tough with the movement and politics generally--you might say that they have practically left the movement. They dont read the press, go to the forums or participate on any level of it--add Gus to the above list--and of course Regual and Hans were not there. They are all with a fairly lengthy record in the movement but none of them have worked full time for the movement except for John D , possibly Pat S and Regula(unfortunately she did not measure up to it) They are cadre and leaders but unfortunately no longer see themselves in that capacity and are adjusting their personal lives away from full time commitment to the movement

They are all aware of the profound degeneration of the movement, the decay of the leadership. Pat S dismiised the leadership as in reality being petit bourgeois radicals who couldnfunction as workers, who are disorganized and in many ways incompetent, without any real experience in life. Claire did not undestand Pat, thought that here comments presaged some kind of personal attack on the individual leaders and protest with the question--who here is prepared to go on staff of the movement. One could not help but feel the poignanacy of this question. That , along with the challenge that I made--that I was prepared to move out alone if necessary and my stated unconcern what the membership thinks --which clearly suggested that not only the heads of the operation were largely irrelevant but almost everyone else attached to them too--must have profoundly shook the meeting.

When I talked of the sectarian degeneration of the movement that it was rapidly deteriroating into norhing but a sect neither Pat S nor Jim C seemed to be at all clear on this--That the movment was adapting to ultra left pressures on it etc., caused Pat to express her disagreement--she said she does not think they are adapting to ultra left and I would gather thinks that there is an organization problem..she even suggested that she did not belong here if we thought they were adapting to ultra left pressures and if I am not mistaken expressed opinions that she was really in substantial agreement with the RCT. What we need are educationals amongst ourselves. Astonishingly, according to my notes Zane doesn't see the leadership has having a line but sees an organizational problem---they have an artifical concept of Gannonism, trying to exercise a type of discipline and authority without having the basis for it

I would say that the general concensus was that we do not have the basis for a tendency but that we wish to start an educational process

Jim and Harry expressd the view that in reality we need a faction--that the leadership had to be replaced. Jim came through very strong whereas Harry appeared contradictory

My first opinion was that time is running out--that the movement is not only degenerating but disintegrating. It appeared that Winnipeg was trying to provoke us into action that would allow them to break with great fanfare on the eve of the ~~Rmtmxbimmbax~~ founding of the Revolutionary Marxist Group...and that we should delay until that event. But subsequent information suggested that the RMG rally would not be breaking as a tendency then (probably Winnipeg would go ahead and set up an RMG group) but would go through to the World Congress which appears to be going ahead on the December schedule. In that case I suggested that we should move now to the formation of a tendency However I pulled back f from this in the light of the discussion and my evaluation of the personell and went along with the idea that we should move towards a tendency and ~~xxxx~~ it was possible after several discussions that we would disband

Where are we at.

Their assault on our Strategic orientation to the NDP requires us to act. They are already lining up everyone through the press and in a persistant incessant attack on the slogan Win the NDP to Socialism and the concept of uncondtional but critical support of the NDP Should we wait until they officially open the discussion while in the meantime they rapidly establish the line up of the ranks. If this struggle is lost in my opinion our fate will be sealed. We will have to go through these two or three discussions and see where everyone stands. The failure of the LSA to grasp the progressive essence of Canadian nationalism rendered us , pushed us outside of and out of touch with the radicalization and the NDP line would it seems to me settle the matter.

new

More

We need along with the educational discussion on the NDP oritnetation to have a further exchange of views on where the movement is at. The ~~fmrmx~~ NDP discussion will help resolve this but not entirely. It was good that Claire raised the challenge of them going on staff--that poses the challenge in a hard frank way. My decision not to take the Cdn nationalism discussion to the wall and my pushing Denis and Gord to give the major contributions was correct--although it would appear to have unnerved the United Tendency and affirned the leadership's gossip that Dowson is senile, has degenerated. With the 70 convention I have moved more and more to take a back seat. Are the ex supporters of the UT contemplating that I will once again move to the front seat---at the age of 56 years ! Harry talks about raising funds to put me on a payroll--Claire sees me going on staff again shorlty--I gather with the current operation merely shaken up somewhat. This is a key question. Claire Harry see my return--giving the struggle a very personal character. It is important that they understand the total impersonal and completely political character of this struggle and that we cannot go home again either--that others have to move out.

We have had our first casúality---Zane has once again decided that he must quit. Jim and then I gave him the shots. I took the mailing list off him so that we will feel no press ure other than political responsibility. Jim let me know that he dimisses most of the ex UT--Pat with all her problems is key in his mind --and he himself has so many problems.

One might conclude that there is with the collapse of this leadership no practical alter native and that at best we will end up with a historic redodr--having proven uncapable of pulling together even the nucleus of a cadre

~~x~~

It would appear obvious at this time that there can be no sucessful struggle for the leadership unless the present leadership breaks down--not likely now with its internation al mission. That if we form a tendency it has to have a very low profile-in a situation where the current operators will be absolutely intolerant of such a situation. The way ahead is murky indeed.

It is hard to realize just how little there proved to be
The pre convention PC meetings the serach for something to hold onto, the clique chorus---then the plenum through which they thought(they were)through a process of intense cultivation and pressures develping a new leadership layer--and then the convention.
The United Tendency--
Yes, even at 56 I could have swung out in my old form, taken them on frontally, really posed the alternative that ovbiously Dennis sought--but what would have been the result, even the best possible result--a commencing all over again with very little. Nothing substantial came out of the struggle---Wayne, Gord --that is,the struggle at that stage.
For the struggle is still on. Some new elements have to come forward
It is apparent that they are not in what Jack B would call the present cadre
They are in the small but developing newer elements--
How to play a role in this process. The last four months--the next few months are a wait and see

“Contribution to LT faction” (on Canadian unions)

Typed & corrected by Ross Dowson

In the July 23, 1973 issue of *Labor Challenge* there appeared as a lead, an editorial entitled « Canadian Unions? » While a question mark was placed after the words Canadian Unions, the edit had a clear line of opposition to Canadian unions as counterposed to the so-called International unions, called elsewhere in the editorial, American-based unions, that is, unions under the domination of the U.S. trade union bureaucracy whose, in many cases, hand-picked appointees are dominant in the top circles of the Canadian Labour Congress.

On the surface this editorial would appear to be nothing more than an application of an aspect of our 1968 document ‘’The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions.’’ Apparently in line with (this) 1968 document, the edit says ‘’For or against Canadian unionism is not a matter of principle for socialist and militant unionists.’’ However it does not state as does the 1968 document, that it is a tactical question.

The editorial enunciates some principles – the right to belong to a union of one’s choice – unions must be free from interference and tampering by the government. Interestingly enough it is just these principles that most of those advocates of Canadian unionism, both autonomists and separatists, most strongly identify with. On the latter principle they advocate freedom from interference by not only the Canadian but the US government. The US trade union bureaucracy has accepted Nixon’s wage freeze, and its present continental contracts impose this freeze on its Canadian affiliates (in the case of the Douglas UAW workers by forcing them back to work through its control of the strike funds.)

The choice of tactics is determined by the concrete, the current situation. Intermediate factors (not programmatic questions upon which we all agree) dictate the choice of tactics best suited to advance the revolutionary movement at a given conjuncture.

One of the factors that determined our reservations with regards to Canadian unionism, that determined our tactic, was our estimation of the forces that were then, in 1968, talking in terms of and promoting Canadian unions. We were of the opinion that they were essentially conservative and opportunist elements looking to build little bailiwicks of their own.

Considerable water has flowed down the St. Lawrence since 1968. In our opinion it is no longer possible to say as we did then that those supporting and promoting

Canadian unionism are essentially conservative elements – and not militants. It is in partial recognition of this change, we take it, that the edit states that the question has now ‘’become a major concern for many NDP and trade union militants!’’

The changed situation should cause us to immediately open up a discussion on this matter through the League (LSA). Such a discussion should be free of characterizing the moves towards Canadian national unions as ‘’raids,’’ as does the CLC brass and the Labor Challenge editorial. That is what they *(the AFL)* called the moves to build the CIO unions. In particular the discussion should serve to acquaint our movement with the great many recent developments in this area, not covered by our press, *(such as)* the defection of sections of the distillery workers, the Quebec CNTU’s identification with CUGE, etc., etc. We will have to come to grips with such predictions as R.N. Secord, president of the 21,000-member CBRT, recently made – that the CLC leadership and the heads of its US-based affiliates are fighting a losing battle in efforts to delay the inevitable, an independent Canadian labor movement in maybe 10 years.

We may well conclude that the forces gathering behind this struggle will achieve what is the ‘’real challenge’’ according to the editorial – the organization of the unorganized; that we are perhaps about to witness a new turn comparable to the break from the AFL and the rise of the CIO.

-30-

20th Sept/73 212 Sorcerer

I think it is essential that we reconstitute a tendency

The movement is rapidly becoming nothing but a sect. there is the grave danger that it will continue in this direction + thereby destroy itself as an instrument for drawing together + forging a dialectical Trotskyist party
+ there is the danger of a continuous process of bleeding away of what we have

I am however opposed to announcing the call or forming it right now even tho time is quite important because only in a matter of weeks the situation in the USA/USO will undergo an important change

all the PC are convinced that by Thanksgiving the RCT will have drained every possible ounce of the USA so that the Revolutionary Marxist Group will be launched with the greatest possible scope + fanfare - The Winnipeg developments certainly sustain this projection

Normally I do not think we would be too concerned about the possibility that some USA/USO would not understand our action — the launch is designed to overcome that lack of awareness after which we are well onto — and I would propose we move now

However the situation will be so qualitatively better for our purpose in such a short space of time that I think we should delay launching a tendency until right after Thanksgiving

I have no desire whatsoever to pull comrades into this action but as I see things now I am prepared to take this action with even the most minimal support — in fact even alone — if necessary

The question [redacted] before [redacted] (It seems to me) is not whether a tendency should be formed but when it should be formed

The movement is rapidly degenerating into a sect

There is the grave danger that it will continue in this direction and thereby be destroyed as an instrument for drawing together and forging a legitimate Trotskyist party

The tendency should be formed to oppose this sectarian degeneration of the movement

It would not be on the old U T program — in fact the chief expression of this sectarianism involves our strategic orientation to the NDP

We will have to work out the program! Perhaps it should be on the general plane since it is a total or general degeneration

I think the meeting should first discuss this matter. Where is the

Morgentaler faces new charges

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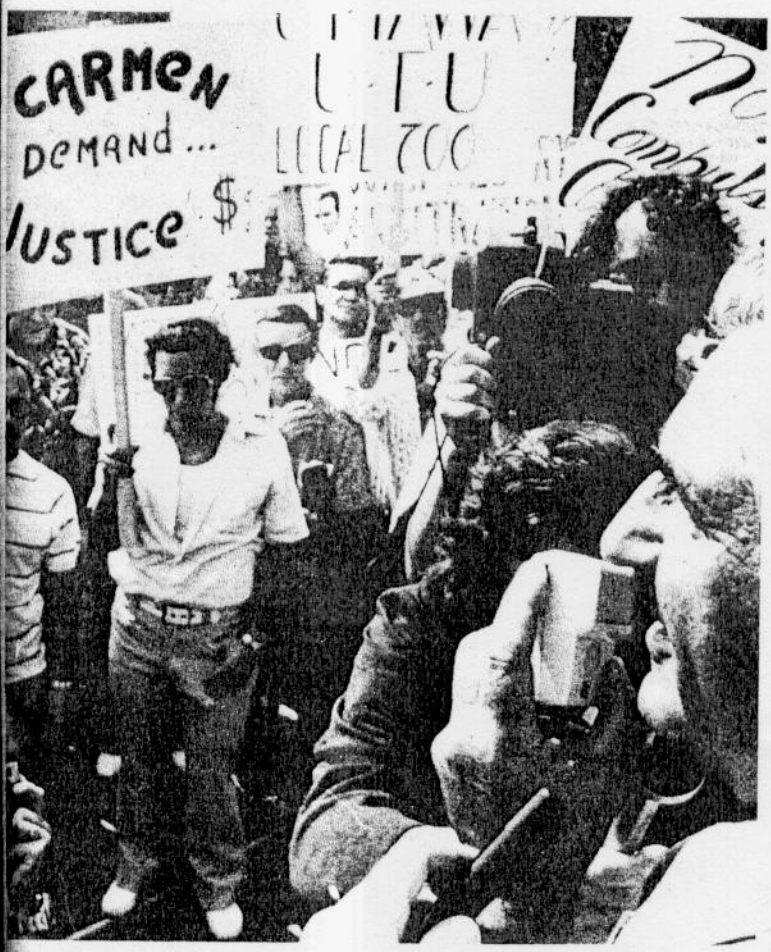
labor Challenge

SEPTEMBER 10, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 15 [85]
25 CENTS

Lesson of rail strike

Labor unity needed to fight inflation



ANGRY RAILWORKERS, outraged by companies' refusal to negotiate seriously, demonstrated Aug. 30 in Ottawa in opposition to parliament's recall to break their strike. They were addressed by NDP leader David Lewis (right) who called for "fair and just" settlement. But Lewis and NDP MPs failed to oppose parliamentary strike-breaking or give full support to strikers' demands for wage increases to keep up with rising cost of living.

by THE EDITORS

SEPT. 4 — The emergency bill designed to force the 56,000 non-operating rail workers back to work was rammed through Parliament in the early hours of Sept. 1.

In 1966, thousands of rail workers defied Parliament by staying on strike for a week. This time, rail workers are also angered by the government-imposed settlement, but the weeks of rotating strikes have worn them down. Nevertheless, as of today, workers in Western Canada are refusing to return, and cross-country rail service has not been reestablished.

The terms of the government bill represent a defeat for the rail workers. They had originally demanded a 27 percent raise over two years; Parliament gave them only 17.6 percent. These terms may be revised upwards by an arbitrator, but past experience indicates that any increases granted will be slight.

Parliament has condemned the non-ops to continue to suffer substandard wages, and even these meager wages will be devoured by rampant inflation. After World War II, the rail workers were among the best-paid and most job-secure of all transportation workers. But automation and government interference in negotiations has drastically altered their position; today they are among the poorest-paid transportation workers. The original union demands had included a catch-up factor to begin to redress this situation; they had also taken into account the cost of living, now spiralling upward at an annual rate of eight percent.

Job security, work rules and pensions are also to be settled by the arbitrator.

The bill also removes the right to strike from 36,000 other railworkers, the trainmen and shopcraft workers, who will be forced into compulsory arbitration if they fail to reach agreement with the companies.

Union leaders and members who defy the legislation are liable to fines of up to $1,000 per day, or two years in prison.

The unions had earlier indicted a militant response to the initial strikebreaking bill of the Liberals. R.C. Smith, chairman of the negotiating committee of the eight non-op unions, declared: "It is an iniquitous piece of legislation. We are being ordered to betray our members, and break their strike, under threat of fines and jail sentences."

A statement issued by the negotiating committee and 60 officers of the unions vowed "we . . . will refuse to order our members back to work on the basis of the legislation as it has been introduced . . . We cannot and will not comply with the directive to us to break our own strike."

NDP leader David Lewis blasted the railroads' refusal to offer the workers a decent wage. Speaking in Parliament Aug. 30 he pointed out that Canadian Pacific's 1972 profits increased by 27 percent and that in the first half of this year they went up 53 percent. He termed CP a "corporate welfare bum" which had received $2 million more in federal subsidies than it had paid in federal income tax.

Thousands of rail workers, many of whom had engaged in wildcat strikes since January against the delays in negotiations and the refusal of the rail barons to bargain, staged demonstrations across the country protesting government strikebreaking attempts. In Winnipeg, 1,200 rail workers marched, in Toronto over 2,000. In Ottawa 2,000 at the Parliament buildings carried placards demanding "No forced labor," and vowing "We won't be railroaded." The militant demonstrators repeatedly chanted "We

see page 2

labor Challenge #85 Sept. 1973

Morgentaler faces 13 charges

Abortion rights advocate indicted

BULLETIN — On Aug. 30, Dr. Morgentaler was again arrested. Six further charges arising out of the Aug. 15 raid on his clinic were laid against him, again under a preferred indictment (a proceeding to bypass preliminary hearings). He now faces a total of thirteen charges under the abortion provisions of the Criminal Code.

by LIS ANGUS

On Aug. 15, Quebec police arrested Dr. Henry Morgentaler — well-known advocate of women's right to safe abortion — in his Montreal clinic. His nurses and patients (fifteen people in all) were also taken into custody but released later that night without charges.

The following morning, the Crown brought four charges against him, under the abortion section of the Criminal Code. These charges were brought under a preferred indictment, a procedure by which the case goes directly to trial without a preliminary hearing.

Dr. Morgentaler was already facing three similar charges, and is liable to life imprisonment if convicted under any of them. He faces several trial dates in September, both on the old charges and the new ones under which the Crown is rushing him to trial.

Dr. Morgentaler was not released from custody until two days after his arrest — and then only under exceptionally restrictive conditions. Among others, he may not speak to the media about his case or "his cause" (i.e. about his views on abortion) nor may he leave Montreal.

It is obvious that the Crown is determined to railroad this case through as quickly as possible, and to muzzle Dr. Morgentaler in the meantime.

Why?

The answer lies not so much in the individual views and actions of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, as in the political context in which those views and actions have taken shape.

Dr. Morgentaler is a vocal and prominent representative of the struggle to make abortion every woman's right to choose — a struggle which, in country after country, had developed out of the growing radicalization of women and has become a focus of the international struggle for women's rights.

Reactionaries — in and out of government — have eyed this development with unease, if not with outright hostility. And small wonder, for the oppression which women are beginning to fight against is part of the fabric of the capitalist system, and struggles of women against their oppression potentially bring half the population into confrontation with the rulers of this system.

Because it is aimed against oppressive laws, the abortion rights struggle has so far brought women most directly in conflict with the state.

In Canada, Dr. Morgentaler has been a supporter of the growing abortion rights movement since its inception. His first arrest, in 1970, came only weeks after he had spoken in Ottawa at a public rally of the Abortion Caravan — the first cross-country action of the Canadian women's movement.

In January 1973, the world-wide struggle for abortion scored a victory with the U.S. Supreme Court decision, which legalized abortion in the U.S. on the grounds that abortion is a woman's right. This precedent-setting decision shook the foundations of every restrictive abortion law in the world.

Less than two months later, Dr. Morgentaler directed this challenge sharply against the Canadian government and its anti-abortion law. At a Toronto rally of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, he declared for the first time that he had in fact performed thousands of medically safe — though illegal — abortions over the past few years at his Montreal clinic. He went on to declare that he did not consider this a criminal act: that in fact it was the law — which would have prevented him from helping these women — which was criminal.

Shortly thereafter, he applied to the Quebec government for legal status for his abortion clinic.

Dr. Morgentaler's actions are even more significant in that they are part of — and backed up by — an active and growing abortion rights movement in Canada: a movement, moreover, that Dr. Morgentaler's case is itself helping to unite in action.

photo from Quebec

Dr. Henry Morgentaler

labor Challenge #85

CWC will build doctors' defense

by LIS ANGUS

TORONTO, Aug. 25 — A meeting of the Cross-Canada Co-ordinating Committee of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), held here this weekend, reviewed the CWC's perspectives in the coming months.

The delegates — representing seven CWC chapters across Canada — resolved that the CWC's top priority at this time is the defense of Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Maccahabee, two Montreal doctors liable to life imprisonment if convicted of charges under the Canadian abortion laws.

"These charges are not simply victimizations of individual doctors — they are the government's latest and most direct way of attacking the abortion law repeal movement and turning back the gains we have already made," said Joan Campana, staff co-ordinator of CWC.

"If these charges are successful, at best it means freezing the present situation: the abortion quotas in hospitals, the red tape of the hospital committees, the illegal abortions for countless women who can't get legal ones. But even more likely, it would mean opening the door to further attacks: to interpreting the laws much more strictly, to cutting out medical coverage for legal abortions, even perhaps to giving the fetus legal rights. We have to fight to stop this attack right here."

In line with this assessment, the meeting adopted a perspective of helping to build broad, public, inclusive defense committees in all local areas.

The meeting also voted to push back the date of the Ottawa Tribunal on Abortion from Nov. 3—as projected by the CWC's cross-country conference last March—to March 9, 1974, the Saturday following International Women's Day.

Brenda Dineen, coordinator of the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition, explained: "We see the Tribunal as one of the most important projects we can carry as part of the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Macchabee. For that reason, we want to take the time to build it as professionally as possible, to make it a very impressive indictment — by the women of Canada — of the government which is trying to indict Morgentaler and Macchabee."

The meeting also discussed plans for local hearings to be carried by CWC chapters across Canada this fall. These hearings will both draw together local information and testimony in preparation for the Ottawa tribunal, and help build the Morgentaler defense campaign by presenting information on the Morgentaler and Macchabee cases.

photo by Doug Williams

TORONTO, AUG. 21. Picket lines were held across Canada in defense of Doctors Morgentaler and Macchabee, charged with criminal offenses under the abortion laws.

labor Challenge #85 Sept 1973

Launch broad defense

by LIS ANGUS

MONTREAL, Aug. 31 — A press conference held here today called on people across Canada to come to the defense of Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Maccabee, two Montreal doctors facing imminent trial on charges under the Canadian abortion law.

Speakers at the press conference included: Lise Payette, well-known Montreal broadcaster; Luce Guilbault, Quebec film star; Dr. Yvan Macchabee, one of the defendants; a representative of the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec (CEQ—Quebec Teachers' Union); Eleanor Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada; and Joan Campana, cross-country co-ordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. The conference was chaired by Dr. Maurice Jobin of Montreal.

Stephen Lewis, provincial leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, was unable to attend the press conference but sent a statement which said in part, "The New Democratic Party, both provincially and federally, has advocated removing abortion from the Criminal Code, and exempting from prosecution or penalty all doctors who have been charged or convicted under the applicable sections of the Code . . . I am pleased that this defense committee is being organized, and I am proud to be associated with it."

This call formalizes moves already made across the country to begin to build a defense campaign for Drs. Morgentaler and Macchabee.

At the July federal convention of the New Democratic party, MP Grace MacInnis called on the convention to come to the defense of Dr. Morgentaler. The delegates gave her a standing ovation and voted overwhelmingly to support the sentiments expressed in her speech.

In the face of the Aug. 15 arrest of Dr. Morgentaler, support pickets were quickly organized in Montreal and Toronto to take place during his court hearing on Aug. 16.

On Aug. 21, the day of Dr. Macchabee's first hearing in Montreal (which set the date for his next hearing on Sept. 5), spirited pickets and rallies were organized right across the country in support of both doctors, by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and its sister organization in Montreal, the Front Commun Pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement. These actions took place in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton. A similar action was held in Vancouver Aug. 23.

The call for a Canada-wide defense campaign has already gained considerable support. Sponsors include such figures as Dr. Augustine Roy, head of the Quebec College of Physicians and Surgeons; Grace MacInnis, NDP M.P., (Vancouver-Kingsway); Jean Thibault, secretary general of the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions), as well as Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, and Norbert Rodrigue and Claude Gerard, first and third vice-presidents of the CSN; Doris Anderson, editor of Chatelaine, Canada's largest-circulation women's magazine; Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Pauline Julien, Quebec folksinger; the Montreal Labor Council; the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws; and the Humanist Association of Canada. The call is also supported by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

This is only a bare beginning. Supporters of the campaign must be organized in defense committees right across the country, with the aim of bulding the broadest, most powerful, and most public defense campaign it is possible to build.

A major task of these defense committees will be to get the information about the case out to every part of the country — through leaflets, brochures and pamphlets, through public meetings and speaking tours, through ads in local papers and appearances on T.V. and radio, through press conferences and rallies and picket lines — in every possible way, educating the Canadian public on what is at stake in this case, and bringing new forces into the campaign.

labor Challenge #85 Sept 1973

B.C. gov't 're-assesses' right to strike

Fallout from ferry strike

by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER — Big business newspapers and politicians have followed up the strike by 2,000 B.C. Ferries workers with sharp protests that threaten to develop into a campaign against the granting of strike rights to British Columbia's 32,000 government workers.

The provincial NDP government had promised legislation giving government workers bargaining and strike rights, during the fall session of the legislature opening Sept. 13.

The principal gain of the five-day strike that ended Aug. 22 was an average wage increase of 14 to 15 percent in a one-year contract retroactive from April 1 this year. This included a $92 monthly increase for all classifications. The contract was supported by 88 percent of the membership of Local 1 of the Marine Branch of the B.C. Government Employees Union, an affiliate of the B.C. Federation of Labor.

The contract failed to win special bargaining status rights outside the framework of the civil service, a major demand of the union, and it compromised on the issue of overtime pay for statutory holidays. Likewise absent from the settlement were demands for a cost of living escalator clause and the 32-hour week, both policies adopted by Local 1 at its March conference this year.

The ferry workers, who struck for 14 days in 1968, have played an important role in the struggle for bargaining and strike rights among B.C. government workers. Current legislation, stemming from the previous Social Credit government's antilabor attacks, prohibited slowdowns and strikes among civil servants. As such, the ferry workers' strike was illegal.

The capitalist politicians' reaction to this year's settlement was swift and hostile. Conservative house leader Scott Wallace charged that the NDP government had failed to uphold law and order and called for compulsory arbitration backed up by jail sentences for union leaders who defied back to work orders. Liberal leader David Anderson told Transport minister and government negotiator Robert Strachan, "If they will not obey the law, you have to fire them." A Social Credit spokesman accused the ferry workers of holding Vancouver Island residents "prisoners" during the strike.

As the criticism mounted, Strachan claimed that he had been forced to negotiate virtually at "gunpoint" by the ferry workers. When asked whether he still thought workers in essential services should have the right to strike he said, "I'm still assessing that," and indicated he would relay his views to provincial secretary Ernie Hall, the minister in charge of the civil service and the introduction of upcoming Bill 182, covering bargaining rights for government workers.

An editorial in the big business Vancouver Province welcomed this "reassessment" and demanded that the fall legislation outlaw strikes in "essential" services, ferry workers included.

Strachan's statement should serve as a warning to the B.C. labor movement that the struggle to take the legislative shackles off labor did not end with the election of an NDP government. The NDP government intends to introduce new legislation to replace the antilabor legislation of the previous Social Credit government. Labor minister King has stated that the legislation "would be broadly acceptable to labor and management."

But any labor legislation infringing on the basic right to strike of any group of workers, including B.C. government employees, can not be acceptable to the labor movement. To ensure that the right to strike is protected and extended to B.C. government workers, the labor movement must begin a concerted campaign before the legislature opens, through the various fall regional conferences of the NDP and the November conventions of the B.C. Federation of Labor and the B.C. NDP, to force the government to wipe all restrictive antilabor legislation off the books.

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Diversion for feminists

'Women's ministry' - debate in B.C. NDP

THE CASE FOR A MINISTRY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Published by the Standing Committee on Women's Rights of the New Democratic Party of British Columbia, 1881 East Hastings Street,, Vancouver, B.C. 50 cents.

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

This collection of articles and speeches is the first pamphlet produced by the B.C. NDP women's rights committee. As the introduction points out, the articles in it are "among the products of one of the most remarkable political phenomena of the 20th century" the development of a world-wide feminist movement.

The B.C. committee is itself a remarkable product of the new feminist radicalization. Formed in 1971 and open to all women in the NDP in B.C., it has inspired the organization of women inside and outside the party throughout the whole province. It produces a monthly newsletter, Priorities, which is widely circulated among feminists and NDPers. The committee has helped to organize a number of conferences and sent feminist speakers to a wide range of meetrings.

It has supported the aims of various struggles of women including the sit-in last winter which

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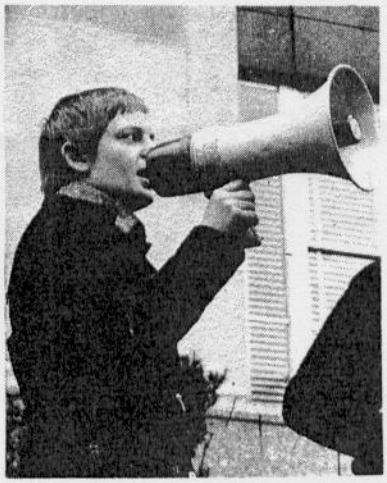
See rtf. file



JACQUIE HENDERSON. Author is organizer of Vancouver LSA.

photo by Isolde Belfont

B.C. FEMINISTS must bring NDP actively behind struggle for women's right to abortion. Above, Vancouver demonstrators in defense of Dr. Morgentaler, accused Montreal abortionist. Speaker is Coreen Douglas of Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of Abortion Laws.

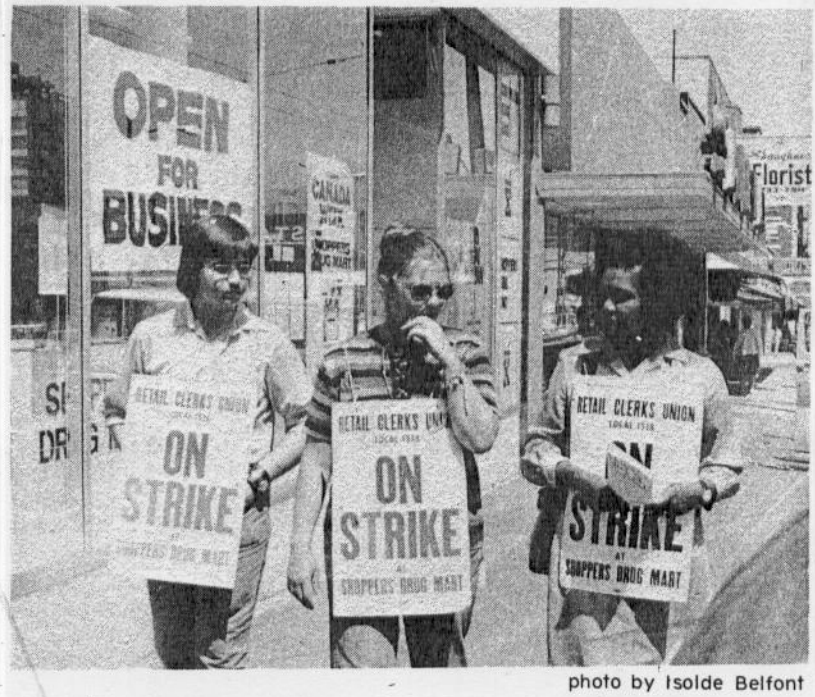


photo by Isolde Belfont

ROSEMARY BROWN, right, member of B.C. legislature and active supporter of NDP women's rights committee, walks picket-line with striking Shoppers Drug Mart workers, many of whom are women.

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demanded child care facilities from the government and won small concessions, and the strike by workers, mainly women, at Shoppers Drug Mart stores. Last July the B.C. committee initiated the organization of a women's caucus at the federal NDP convention.

Because of the prominent role that the B.C. women's rights committee has played in organizing women, this pamphlet will be widely read by women across the country who want to learn how to organize to end their oppression.

Unfortunately, they aren't going to find many of the answers they need in this pamphlet.

The pamphlet does not reflect the wide range of activities of the NDP women's rights committee, or of the independent women's movement as a whole. It does not focus on the Barrett government's refusal to implement the wide-ranging program of women's rights adopted by the last convention of the B.C. New Democratic Party. Rather, its theme is the proposal for a "Ministry of Women's Rights" adopted at this convention.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Premier Barrett told reporters at the time of the convention that his government would make establishment of such a ministry a "low priority." His statement has become famous as a symbol of the government's contemptuous rejection of the broad program of legislation for women's rights proposed by the convention.

While it was opposed by those such as Barrett who fear giving any recognition to the special oppression of women, the resolution itself was a very modest proposal. It read:

"Therefore be it resolved that the 1972 Provincial Convention of the NDP call for the establishment of a Ministry of Women's Rights in the next sitting of the Legislature, to work with other Departments on all issues affecting women directly, including relevant aspects of labor legislation, child care, health and welfare, education, and other areas of similar concern; that this Ministry be headed by a woman; and that the selection of this Minister be made after consultation with the Women's Committee of the NDP."

The resolution did not demand that the government enact any new legislation. It did not demand that the government do anything other than set up another ministry which it explicitly described as being integrated into the existing bureaucratic framework of the government and state apparatus.

And yet the two main articles in the pamphlet are entitled, "A Ministry of Women's Rights — A breakthrough for the women's movement" and "A Ministry of Women's Rights — A structural solution." The titles accurately reflect the content of these articles authored by Melodie Corrigall and Sharon Yandle, respectively. The authors, who consider themselves feminists and socialists, project the ministry as more than a demand — they see it as a central part of a strategy for the feminist movement.

They make a number of correct points that women's oppression is not an aberration but rather a fundamental aspect of capitalism — that it is built into the system as is poverty and oppression in general; that the struggle for women's liberation is therefore bound up in the struggle to change society; that it is not enough to support equality for women in the abstract — special measures are required to help women overcome their subordinate status. Both writers also express no confidence in the Barrett government to bring forth any measures to meet women's needs, in spite of the fact that the B.C. party has adopted a number of the key feminist demands. A way must be found to make the government act on these demands, they state.

WOMEN'S POWER?

While Yandle is careful to state that the ministry cannot bring about an end to social inequality of women and in that sense is not a "solution," she does see it as the next big step towards that end. She says that it can "provide women with the tools to begin the systematic elimination of the root causes of oppression."

They advocate the Women's Ministry as a short cut to women getting some "power."

But, in fact, this approach represents a dangerous detour for the feminist movement, one which could disarm it of its only real power.

Both Yandle and Corrigall imply that a women's ministry will not be like the other ministries in the government. But both of them are arguing in favor of the NDP convention resolution which is quite clear: the women's ministry will be part of the government apparatus; it will "work with other (government) departments," i.e. it will be interlocked with them; it will not have any autonomous power to draft new legislation affecting women.

Both see the ministry as a means of giving women "power." Yandle says, "It is a very important means of stimulating and encouraging women to break through the barriers that confine them to a socially inferior status by giving them power — the finances, resources and authority to start breaking those barriers down." Corrigall refers to the ministry as a "body with power."

But how would such a ministry give women "power?" The demand for a ministry lends credence to illusions that women can win their rights through a change in governmental structures. It encourages concepts that power can be gained in some way other than by building the feminist movement through independent struggles around concrete demands, when the entire experience of the women's movement to date proves the opposite.

They do not even link the setting up of the ministry to the achievement of any of the concrete demands of the women's rights movement. Rather they seem to view its establishment as a precondition for a successful struggle to achieve such gains. This view is a dangerous diversion. By

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focussing on a structural change, the demand for a ministry tends to ease the pressure on the government to enact specific reforms of benefit to women. In this sense, it lets Barrett, Trudeau and Co. off the hook.

THE WAY FORWARD

Both Yandle and Corrigall point out that the government male-dominated bureaucracy cannot understand women's problems or move to solve them. But the remedy they suggest is faulty. The solution does not lie in the establishment of new ministries, staffed by women. Governmental structures like ministries are designed to carry out government policy. What is decisive is the character of the government and its policies, not who staffs its departments.

That is why the key fight for women, even in a province with an NDP government, is to win concrete policies that would aid women. In B.C., a big step in this direction could be made by forcing the government to implement the concrete measures in the women's rights program adopted at the last provincial NDP convention.

In a deeper sense, feminists must also come to understand that the state apparatus — the government bureaucracy, the police and the courts — cannot be taken over by women and used to advance their struggle. The state is an institution in the hands of the ruling class, specifically designed to perpetuate the system of oppression and exploitation. As such, its basic character cannot be altered by changes in structure or personnel. It must be replaced in the process of a revolutionary transformation of society, a socialist revolution.

The women's liberation movement can be a powerful force in the socialist revolution. But of course women cannot make such a revolution by themselves. To succeed, we must ally with the working class in anticapitalist struggle.

The power of struggles for women's rights, the strength of the women's liberation movement, and its independence from the ruling class and its institutions, are crucial factors in propelling this broader anticapitalist struggle forward.

The pamphlet's theme, the campaign for a women's ministry, represents a false course for the women's rights committee.

It should take another course, that of participating in and helping to lead the feminist movement as a whole in struggle, bringing the full presure of this movement to bear on the Barrett government in order to force it to implement those concrete policies which meet women's needs. Many important measures are already outlined in the B.C. NDP program which includes 24-hour child care, a province-wide network of abortion clinics, enforcement of equal pay for women.

Feminists must look for opportunities to take this program off the shelf and organize women around these demands. Women can reach out beyond the feminist movement in the course of these campaigns to involve masses of women who have not yet taken action and to pressure the labor movement to actively support these campaigns.

Last winter's child-care struggle provided a good example of one possible campaign. And, although limited in the forces it was able to unite in struggle against the government, it managed to force the government to make a small concession. The government could have been pushed much farther if women throughout the province had been mobilized behind this struggle — if the NDP women's committee had taken an active role in leading this mobilization. Much bigger concessions could have been wrung out of the government if the labor movement had been mobilized behind the campaign.

The government must act now. A massive and innovative child care program to meet the needs of all women regardless of income must be initiated. The government must proceed to set up abortion clinics throughout the province, equipped with the most modern techniques, where safe, legal abortions would be available to women without red tape or discrimination. The government, one of the largest employers in the province, must change its policies and become a model in hiring, promotion and payment of women workers.

In its first year in office, the NDP government has failed to legislate any of these policies. It has shown it will not implement these demands unless forced to do so by strong and organized women's movement. The Women's Rights Committee must reject the deadend strategy proposed by Yandle and Corrigall and spearhead campaigns demanding concrete legislation — now.

In Brief

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POMPIDOU FORCED TO FREE KRIVINE

Confronted by an international protest campaign, the French government has been compelled to allow the release of Alain Krivine from prison. Krivine was a central leader of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, which was banned by the Pompidou regime on June 28. Although he is at liberty under the terms of provisional release, Krivine still must face trial.

The pretext for the arrest of Krivine and the banning of the League was an antifascist demonstration sponsored by the League and other groups on June 21. The protest was against a meeting of the fascist group New Order, which is conducting a racist campaign to keep immigrant workers out of France.

Another former leader of the League, Pierre Rousset, remains in prison. In addition, 25 other ex-members of the League still face charges stemming from the June 21 demonstration.

The banning of the Ligue Communiste has been denounced by a broad section of French society. In addition, a number of prominent representatives of labor and left organizations internationally have condemned the repression.

Statements of support for the campaign in defense of the League, as well as copies of protest statements sent to the Pompidou government should be sent to: M. F. Kahn, 15, rue Clerc, Paris 7, France. Financial contributions to the defense campaign should be sent to: C.C.P. Michel Foucault, Paris 26-15, France.

GAYS DEMONSTRATE FOR RIGHTS

Climaxing Canada's second annual Gay Pride Week for Ontario, close to 150 chanting demonstrators marched through downtown Toronto streets to the Ontario legislature, focusing on the demand to place "sexual orientation" in the provincial Human Rights Code. Placards emphasized the civil rights theme decided upon by a conference of gay organizations held in Ottawa last spring. "Stop Police Entrapment," "Equal Employment Rights for Gays," "Take 'Homosexualism' Out of the Immigration Act," and "Drop Age of Consent Laws" were among the many signs carried in the march.

Organized by the Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE) and the editorial collective of the Body Politic, Canada's only cross-country gay liberation paper, the demonstration also drew participants from Gays of Ottawa (GO), the Lesbian Collective of Women's Place, Waterloo Universities' Gay Liberation Movement, the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT), and some people from Toronto Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). Probably close to half, if not more, of the demonstrators belonged to no gay organization, but were drawn from the publicity for the march. That the attendance at this year's march was down from last year's, probably reflects both political conditions in general and some sharp divisions that have taken place in the Toronto gay movement over the last year.

A dance Aug. 23 at the Club Manatee, co-sponsored by GATE, Body Politic and CHAT raised $1,600, most of which will go to the National Gay Election Coalition.

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2,500 by Nov. 13

Three papers join forces in drive for new readers

by GRANT HARGRAVE
Business Manager

Twenty-five hundred new readers of the socialist press by Nov. 13. That's the goal of the fall subscription drive set by the business offices of the three socialist newspapers in Canada — Labor Challenge, the monthly French-language paper Liberation and the student monthly Young Socialist.

Labor Challenge and Young Socialist have also announced a special introductory offer. For $2.00, a new subscriber will receive eight issues of each paper. That represents a saving of $2.00 off the regular single-copy price.

Subscriptions to Liberation can also be obtained for $1.00 for eight issues, by writing to Liberation, B.P. 641, Succ. N, Montreal 129, Quebec.

Now more than ever, working people, women, youth, Quebecois are searching for answers to their problems. They need the socialist solution. The socialist press goes to the root of current issues as they arise, and explains not only why injustice, exploitation and oppression occur, but also how to fight them. The papers are both organizers and educators for all those fighting to change their conditions, from the picket lines to the college campuses.

That's much more than you'll find in the big business press!

You need all three socialist papers in Canada. Labor Challenge analyses the day-to-day struggles of working people in the unions and the NDP. It covers the growing women's liberation movement, reporting on its activities and giving direction to its strategy, tactics and program. It explains world events from a class struggle viewpoint.

Young Socialist covers the student movement in Canada with news, analysis and background information. Whether or not you go to school, you should be reading Young Socialist to know and understand the youth radicalization.

In Quebec, where class and nationalist battles have reached an unparalleled height on this continent, Liberation campaigns for an independent and socialist Quebec. Read Liberation, and follow the unfolding of the Quebecois struggle.

Subscribe now! And why not join the campaign to spread the socialist word? Just drop us a line and we will rush you a kit that includes the papers and subscription blanks you'll need.

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GOVT.'S POLICY WON'T STOP PRICES SPIRAL

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...nks rome Santiago streets as opponents of junta are rounded up. ...military code-named its coup 'Operation Jakarta,' ominously referring to the massacre of 500,000 alleged 'Communists' in Indonesia in 1965.

Protest repression in Chile!

Canada must open doors to refugees

by THE EDITORS

All opponents of the reactionary military coup, all supporters of the democratic rights of the Chilean workers and peasants must vigorously protest the mounting wave of repression in Chile.

The military junta, having overthrown the constitutionally-elected regime of the Popular Unity, and murdered President Salvador Allende, is now employing the same ruthless methods of political terror against dissidents as the infamous military dictatorships in Brazil and Bolivia.

Reports from Santiago speak of mass arrests or workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. Thousands have already been killed by the military as it attempts to eliminate all potential armed resistance to its Sept. 1 coup.

According to "well-informed unofficial sources" in Santiago, quoted in the Toronto Globe and Mail Sept. 17, "the situation is serious. Many people have been condemned to death and executed in the national stadium, including foreigners." The military government reported that same day that already a total of 5,200 civilians are slated for court martial. For most, their only "crime" is to have been supporters of the Allende regime.

While information is still very scanty as a result of military censorship, it appears that in many areas groups of workers, peasants and students, while poorly armed, have been attempting to resist the coup. They are being ruthlessly gunned down by the soldiers.

Some picture of the extent of the repression can be gathered from a description by a Canadian woman living in Chile, reached by telephone on

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Editorial

Defend rights of workers, peasants

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labor Challenge

Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: GRANT HARGRAVE

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Sept. 15 by the Latin American Working Group in Toronto. She stated that people living on streets leading to cemeteries in Santiago report "one hearse after another being taken to the cemeteries and also truckloads of corpses — military and civilian — just thrown in the trucks like sacks of potatoes." Rumors put the number killed as high as 5,000, just four days after the army's seizure of power.

Just behind her home in an industrial area of Santiago is a factory in which the workers stayed on learning of the coup. "On Wednesday afternoon (the day after the coup) the air force came and surrounded the factory. There was a gun battle for about two hours. Finally they went inside and lots of workers were killed. Some were taken. We don't know how many. We still can't get anything official . . ."

The junta's interior minister, Gen. Oscar Bonilla, is ominously campaigning against "foreign extremists." There are an estimated 13,000 political refugees in Chile, exiles from military dictatorships throughout Latin America. All of them are under immediate threat of death.

Among the political refugees is Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader. Blanco was saved from execution in Peru in the 1960s only by massive international protests, including those of many civil libertarians, trade unionists and NDP leaders in Canada. Deported from Peru to Mexico in 1971, Blanco attempted to move to Argentina, where he was jailed and then deported to Chile. Blanco and other exiles must not be returned to their would-be jailers, torturers, and executioners!

The Chilean military coup is a major blow for the left and workers movement in all of Latin America. Chile's popular front government was vaunted by reformists of all stripes as a successful example of the "peaceful," "democratic" road to socialism.

The mobilizations of the working class and peasantry that had put Allende in office and continued to develop throughout his regime marked a

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high point of the mass movement in contemporary Latin America. But the Allende regime's failure to move forward to the dismantling of the bourgeois army and state, and to arm the workers and peasants as the latter moved to take over their factories and lands, left intact the same repressive apparatus that was ultimately to overthrow the constitutional regime.

The reasons behind the defeat in Chile must be carefully studied and assimilated by the vanguard layers of the workers and radical movement around the world, if similar defeats are to be avoided in future. The most important of these lessons is the absolute necessity for a mass revolutionary party built along Leninist lines. In the absence of such a party, there was no force in Chile capable of organizing and leading the masses of peasants and workers in a successful struggle for power.

Other articles in this issue of Labor Challenge analyze these lessons from the standpoint of the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International and its Canadian section, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socailiste Ouvriere.

The betrayal of Stalinists, their class-collaborationist line of the "peaceful road to socialism," must be exposed and combatted.

The most urgent need of the hour, however, is to mount broad united non-exclusionist actions of opposition to the military coup, and in defense of democratic rights and of political prisoners in Chile. The protests which occurred in cities across Canada in the days immediately following the coup must be continued and extended, under the leadership of non-exclusionist committees open to all organizations and individuals who share the above aims, regardless of partisan political viewpoint. Effective actions here and elsewhere can be vital in saving the lives of revolutionaries who have fallen into the hands of the junta, and in staying the hands of the executioners.

End the terror of the Chilean military dictatorship!
Stop the arrests and reprisals!
Hands off the political refugees!

Free all Chilean political prisoners!

These are the major demands that must be advanced.

The U.S. government doubtless was heavily involved in the planning if not the actual execution of the coup. But the Trudeau government, likewise, is complicit if only by its failure to condemn the military takeover. The strongest statement emanating from Ottawa has been External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp's sanctimonious comment that he extends "sympathy to the people of Chile on the death of their President and, of course, my condolences to the (Allende) family. All of us, I am sure, express the hope that democratic institutions will be restored to Chile without delay."

The mouthpieces of Canadian capital can scarcely conceal their glee at the tragic turn of events in Chile. The Globe and Mail editors, who only yesterday were condemning the "violence" of railway workers who invaded the sacred halls of parliament, cynically attempt to whitewash the military's overthrow of the Allende government. "The military leaders, by tradition and inclination, chose to remain outside politics and loyal to the elected Government . . . The decision to intervene now was probably taken as the only possible move if the country were to be spared all-out civil war."

Parliament refused to even debate a motion in the House of Commons by NDPer John Rodriguez (Nickel Belt) "that the Canadian Government refuse recognition of the Chilean military junta and forthwith withdraw any financial or other support which this government presently provides."

This demand however has been taken up by demonstrations and rallies across Canada:

No recognition for the military junta!

Another demand, put forward at a Regina demonstration and supported by members of the Saskatchewan NDP government, is that Ottawa grant asylum to political exiles from Chile. This demand has been echoed by the editors of the Montreal daily, Le Devoir.

Ottawa has opened Canada's doors to refugees from Hungary, Uganda, even Tibet; these doors should be open to the refugees from Chile.

Grant asylum for Chilean political refugees!

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Build united actions against Chile coup

Canadian opponents of the Sept. 11 Chilean military coup responded immediately, with protest demonstrations and rallies occurring in many cities across the country. They were the biggest international solidarity actions since the January demonstrations against the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

In Montreal one thousand people marched from Dominion Square to the U.S. consulate Sept. 13 under the theme "Solidarity with the working class of Chile." The main speaker, Fernand Daoust, secretary-general of the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC, AFL-CIO), declared that "the working class of the world is in mourning, and the Quebec workers join them in mourning." Representatives of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) also spoke.

The Quebec NDP issued a statement denouncing "the aggression perpetrated in Chile against the democratic and socialist government."

A continuing defense committee was set up Sept. 17 at a public meeting in Montreal.

In Vancouver, a demonstration of about 400 marched Sept. 15 from the courthouse to the U.S. consulate and the head office of Rayonier Ltd., a Canadian subsidiary of ITT (which was linked with an earlier attempt to get the CIA to overthrow the Allende regime). The demonstration was sponsored by an "Ad Hoc Chilean Solidarity Committee." Further protests are planned.

In Edmonton, about 200 persons marched in a candlelight procession to the cenotaph Sept. 15 "to mourn Allende."

Three actions have been held to date in Toronto: demonstrations of two to three hundred in the days immediately following the coup, and a public meeting of several hundred Sept. 15. A non-exclusive "Chilean Solidarity Committee" has been established around the key slogans "No Canadian Recognition of the Junta" and "Grant Asylum to Chilean Refugees and Exiles."

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists have been active in defense actions across the country.

In some areas, elements associated with the Communist party have attempted to organize sectarian actions and committees excluding other political tendencies on the left, and to limit the defense to themes like "Mourn Allende." The CP has fought attempts to focus actions around the defense of political prisoners and exiles.

In Edmonton, exclusionist elements in the demonstration committee tried to prevent Heidi Fischer of the League for Socialist Action from speaking at a protest action. In Toronto when Maoists of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) disrupted a Canadian Peace Congress-sponsored meeting to "mourn Allende," leading CPCers dragged out the old Stalinist slanders against all left opponents, labelling them "fascists," "CIA agents," etc. The chairman of the meeting, Rae Stevenson, even went so far as to blame "the far left extremists" in Chile for the coup. A sponsor of the meeting phoned the Toronto press to slander the Revolutionary Marxist Group, accusing it of the Maoist disruption. The Maoists of the CPC(M-L), for their part, have threatened to break up all meetings on Chile called by the "revisionists" (CP) and "Trotskyites."

These reprehensible attempts to restrict the scope of the defense activity and slander other currents in the left must be vigorously combatted. The defense must be open to all who are prepared to engage in united action with other organizations and individuals around opposition to the coup and junta, and defense of the democratic rights of the Chilean workers and peasants. The widest possible forces must be mobilized around these themes.

photo by Isolde Belfont

PROTEST MILITARY COUP IN CHILE. About 400 people joined Sept. 15 demonstration in Vancouver.

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SALVADOR ALLENDE taking office in 1970, flanked by generals. Allende told Chilean people to trust the military, saying 'The armed forces of Chile are essentially professionals and democratic.'

Popular Frontism paved the way

Behind the rightist military coup in Chile

by JON COLE

SEPT. 16 — The right-wing military junta which overthrew Chile's Popular Unity government on Sept. 11 appears to be moving to consolidate its control of the country very rapidly. A massive crackdown on working class and revolutionary militants is underway. Estimates of the number killed in Santiago alone run as high as 15,000. Thousands more have been arrested and are being held in Santiago's two giant sports stadiums, which have been converted into concentration camps.

The junta announced that Allende had committed suicide during the coup and was buried secretly. Other reports claim he was murdered. The crackdown on the left includes exiles in the country. An estimated 2,000 refugees from military dictatorships in Uruguay and Brazil were granted political asylum under Allende, as was Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco.

While details are not yet clear, the coup certainly had the endorsation and perhaps the active support of the United States government. The U.S. was about to embark on joint naval maneuvers with the Chilean navy when the coup took place. Pentagon leaks already admit that the U.S. "knew" about the coup several days in advance. The coup is the culmination of three years of U.S.-backed subversion and sabotage against the Chilean government.

Shortly after Allende took office in 1970, the U.S. cut off credit to Chile, as did the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The only "aid" that continued was the training of Chilean military officers in the U.S. These officers now form the government of Chile.

The coup followed a period of intense social crisis in Chile, a period in which it was clear to all observers that Allende's governmental balancing act could not last long.

In recent months, sectors of the ruling class and the right began to move into action against Allende. A large-scale fascist movement, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty) developed. Truck-owners staged a nationwide strike. The Ultraright carried out a number of terrorist acts, including the assassination of the president's aide, Captain Araya, in July.

This right-wing campaign was initiated by the attempted coup of June 29, which proved to be a limited dress rehearsal for the successful uprising of Sept. 11. Chile's major bourgeois daily, El Mercurio, in July was openly advocating an "Indonesian solution" in Chile — referring to the military coup and bloodbath in 1965 which left an estimated 500,000 Indonesian Communists and workers dead.

In response to the growing right-wing threat, the workers carried their mobilizations and independent initiatives long strides forward. Factories were occupied in many cities, and operated under the control of the cordones industriales, mass democratic workers' assemblies.

There was a strong tendency to create workers' defense guards — armed units which could defend the gains won in recent years. With the army clearly on the side of the right wing, the creation of a "parallel army" of the workers was a logical and essential step — it had to accompany attempts to split the armed forces, to win over the rank and file. In the navy in particular, there were indications that the ranks were sympathetic to the workers movement.

The Communist party, which was the real leadership of the Popular Unity governing coalition, vigorously rejected the call for arming the workers and peasants against the threat of another coup. As recently as July 31, CP General Secretary Luis Corvalan said:

"Because the workers took some immediate security measures against the recent attempted coup and maintained these precautionary measures, some reactionaries have set up a howl, thinking that they have found a new issue to drive a wedge between the people and the armed forces. They are claiming that we have an orientation of replacing the professional army.

"No sir, we continue and will continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional."

"Strictly professional" was supposed to mean non-political. In reality it meant maintaining the capitalist army intact.

Tragically, there was in Chile no revolutionary party which could initiate the process of building a workers' army or splitting the ranks of the armed forces. The Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the largest left group outside of the Popular Unity coalition, did some work in defense of the political rights of enlisted men. But in the final analysis, the MIR's position of critical support to Allende rendered it incapable of posing a revolutionary alternative.

In the Cordon Industrial Vicuna Mackenna, where a group of Chilean Trotskyists is active, statements pointing in the right direction were issued in response to the coup by representatives of several left

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parties, including the Chilean section of the Fourth International.

They called for popular control of all production and distribution, creation of a popular militia, and placing defense in the hands of the working class. But there was no mass party which could take up these demands and spread them throughout the country.

Shortly after the June 29 coup, Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco wrote from Santiago in Intercontinental Press: "The tension has dropped in Chile but the present 'calm' is very relative. It is expected that the right will attempt another coup. The sectors of the right that favor a 'constitutional' solution are constantly shrinking.

"On the other hand, the situation of the UP leadership becomes more difficult every day. Because of the coup, it had to appeal to the masses. Allende called on the workers to come out with 'what they had', just as CUT (Central Workers Union) called for taking over factories as a preventive measure and alerted the defense committees." (Intercontinental Press, Sept. 10, 1973)

Allende attempted a balancing act, appealing to the masses while making concessions to the military. On Aug. 10 he appointed a new cabinet, including General Prats, commander of the armed forces. Air Force General Ruiz Danyau was made minister of transport. Faced with the reactionary truckers' strike, Danyau simply demanded that Allende yield totally to the truckers' demands.

Danyau resigned on Aug. 18, followed on Aug. 25 by Prats and Admiral Montero, head of the navy. Allende promptly reorganized the cabinet, bringing in several lower-ranking officers. He appointed General Augusto Pinochet head of the armed forces in place of Prats.

Pinochet is now the head of the right-wing junta which rules Chile. Prats, who was widely touted as a leader of a "left-wing" current in the army, has announced "I am not, and have no intention of heading any group against the government, nor of dividing the armed forces."

The Allende government claimed to be on the road to socialism. In fact it remained committed to capitalism, although mass pressure forced it to carry out a number of far-reaching reforms, reforms which large sectors of the ruling class found too costly to bear. Allende's repeated (and completely sincere) declarations of loyalty to the constitution disarmed his supporters politically in the face of an opposition which had no intention of respecting the constitution except insofar as it served their interests. His kowtowing before the armed forces, one of the principal bastions of the status quo in every country, strengthened the right wing, and paved the way for the biggest defeat for the Latin American revolution since the 1964 Brazilian coup.

CHILEAN PEASANTS occupied land in defiance of landowners and Popular Unity government.

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4th Int'l warned of confrontation

Missing: the revolutionary party

Almost the entire international left accepted Allende's claim that he was leading Chile towards socialism, that the Chilean armed forces were a progressive and democratic force, that Chile could be transformed without a revolutionary confrontation. The chorus of support to the Popular Unity regime came — with varying degrees of enthusiasm — from Maoist currents like those around the U.S. newspaper The Guardian, from left Social Democrats and nationalists in Canada's Waffle movement, and from, of course, the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

A significant exception to this pro-Allende unanimity was the Trotskyist Fourth International, represented in Canada by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. In a resolution adopted unanimously by the International's United Secretariat in December 1971 — almost two years ago — the Fourth International identified Allende's government as a reformist, pro-capitalist popular front which could not solve the basic problems facing the Chilean masses. Appropriately entitled "Chile — the Coming Confrontation," the resolution warned that continuation of the Popular Unity policy of limiting its actions to parliament while cracking down on worker and peasant militants "would enormously facilitate a reactionary counterattack and a rightist coup d'etat."

The 1971 resolution began by pointing out that Chile's reformist experience was not an isolated one — that it followed a number of experiments by imperialism and the native ruling classes in Latin America to find ways of avoiding a repetition of the Cuban revolution. In fact, in many ways Popular Unity's program only extended reforms begun under the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei.

"The essentially reformist character of the Allende government conforms, moreover, with the program presented before and after the elections. Basically this program projects carrying out the Christian Democratic agrarian reform, ending the direct imperialist grip on the exploitation of raw materials, the statization of a series of industrial sectors, and the nationalization of the banks. This program, if it were carried out in its entirety, would greatly alter Chile's economic structure, bringing about considerable modifications in the relationship of class forces, in the division of the national income, and in the political role played by the different forces. But it would not involve a qualitative change — Chile would not cease to be a capitalist country dominated by the law of profit and still integrated in the imperialist world structure."

The resolution argued that Allende's government, far from representing the workers and peasants, was a type of popular front — a coalition of workers' parties with capitalist forces, of the type organized or supported by Stalinist forces in many countries since the thirties.

". . . even leaving aside the fact that at least one of the parties in the coalition was traditionally a bourgeois party, the bourgeoisie exercises its influence through the petty-bourgeois parties that were included in both the Popular Unity and in the government. In addition, Allende is continually obliged to negotiate with the majority bloc in a parliament dominated by the Christian Democratic party, which permitted him to be elected and which can paralyse anything he undertakes whenever it chooses. Finally — and this is decisive — the class-collaborationist nature of the coalition was determined by its acceptance of the fundamental economic framework of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state apparatus."

The resolution pointed out "the inevitable tendency of the mass mobilization to break through the framework of reformism and class collaborationism prescribed by Allende. This, in the final analysis, is what provokes the sharpest conflicts and alarms the indigenous bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Out of fear of being overwhelmed, they raise the question of an inevitable confrontation . . .

"In the currently developing conflicts, the contending forces are mobilizing and reacting more and more sharply in relation to issues that must be decided in a relatively short time. The masses — at least the layers in the forefront — are not ready to give up their offensive and are seeking to bring to bear the greater social and political weight they have gained. The bourgeoisie is combining defensive operations and sallies designed to encourage its troops. For the bourgeoisie, it is essential to gain exact delimitation of the three economic "areas" (state, private, mixed) and to maintain the political structures of the system. The latter is required as a guarantee against any tendency to go beyond the framework of the reformist experiment. Allende and his coalition, unable to accede to measures that might provoke a break with the masses or even considerable sectors of the masses, are compelled to reply to the attacks of the bourgeoisie; but at the same time they continually seek to hold back the masses and to counter the pressures exerted from the left."

The resolution predicted, correctly, that the decisive confrontation would take some time to develop. This breathing space could enable the working class "to strengthen its positions, to organize an offensive, to face and resolve the decisive problem of arming itself." This, however, could only take place if the

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SANTIAGO, SEPT. 4. Hundreds of thousands of workers, students and peasants marched in show of force against right-wing threats.

4th Int'l warned of confrontation

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working class broke completely from the reformist illusions of the Popular Unity government.

The resolution pointed out the strategy that revolutionists had to follow in order to achieve this goal. Central to this strategy is a program including expulsion of the landlords and capitalist entrepreneurs from the land, nationalization of all of the key sectors of capitalist industry, nationalization of the banks and the creation of a state monopoly of foreign trade, workers' control of production, and the creation of organs of proletarian democracy, including the call for a popular constituent assembly to determine a new political structure for the country.

The resolution argued that these demands "would be completely abstract" if separated from two central questions — the arming of the workers and peasants, and the creation of a revolutionary party.

Since the Popular Unity was refusing to disband the army, "the task facing the workers and peasants is to arm themselves, to form political and military instruments of self-defense, to organize a genuine popular militia, to disseminate revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers. Not to begin along these lines would mean in practice depending on the 'democratic loyalty' of the army and the specialized repressive bodies."

The two principal working class parties in Chile, the resolution said, will not lead Chile towards a socialist revolution. The Communist party bears "the stamp of a long Stalinist tradition," and is "the instrument of an indigenous labor bureaucracy." It is "a genuine cesspool of reformism." The Socialist party, while standing to the left of the CP on many questions, is at best a "centrist formation," "more a conglomeration of tendencies and groups than a homogeneous formation."

The Chilean experience showed that it would be impossible for the proletariat to come to power "without a genuine revolutionary Leninist party ..... At this stage of the class struggle in Latin America, the speed with which the revolutionary crisis in Chile develops to its outcome depends, in the final analysis, on the speed with which the party is built."

— J.C.

In Brief

NATIVE LAND CLAIMS TOTAL THREE BILLION DOLLARS

Settling native land claims in Canada along the same lines as the settlement agreed to by the Nixon administration in Alaska would cost $3 billion and millions of acres of land. This was a conclusion of a confidential Northern Affairs department memorandum which was made public by Ottawa's CJOH-TV. The memo was one of those which was reported to have disappeared following a sit-in in the Indian Affairs offices in Ottawa.

In an important victory, the courts have ruled recently that the Native people have the right to file claims on the land stolen from them in the Northwest territories. They have been enjoined from making the claim, however, until the federal government has a chance to appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court.

Over 200 native youth held a 24-hour occupation of the Department of Indian Affairs building in Ottawa Aug. 30, to protest the Trudeau government's violation of native rights in the James Bay power sellout, the violation of the Jay Treaty, refusals to recognize native land claims in British Columbia, and constant harassment of the youth liaison specialist program.

Art Manuel, president of the Native Youth Association and a leader of the occupation, will be featured speaker at the Vanguard Forum in Toronto, Friday, September 28 at 8 p.m. Vanguard Forums are held every Friday night at 334 Queen Street West.

Trial begins Sept. 24

Support builds for Dr. Morgentaler

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by BETH ROBERTSON

On Sept. 24, Dr. Henry Morgentaler will begin trial on the first of thirteen charges laid against him under the abortion section of the Criminal Code. Defense actions, including meetings, pickets, demonstrations, etc., are being organized around this date across Canada by newly-formed defense committees and other supporters of Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Yvan Macchabee, another Montreal physician facing similar charges. Already, actions are planned in Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal.

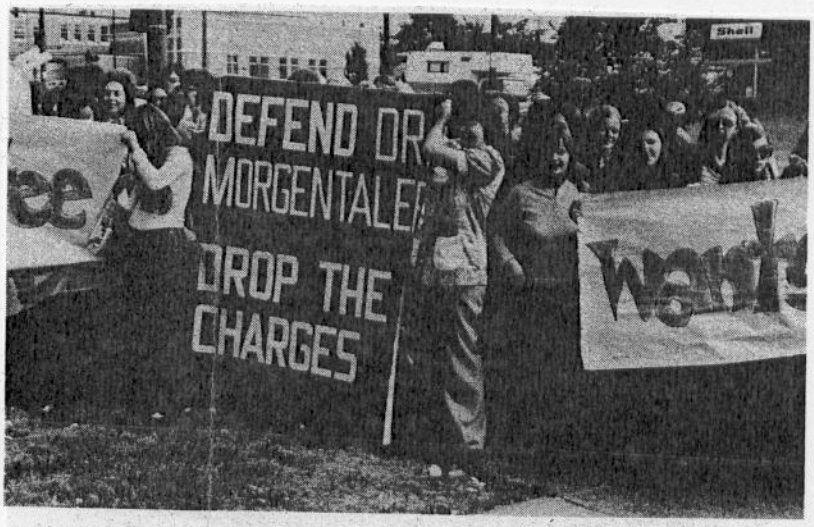
The formation of defense committees across the country and the subsequent organization of defense actions is important to the outcome of Dr. Morgentaler's trial. With a powerful, broad campaign behind him, demanding that the charges be dropped, Dr. Morgentaler can walk out of that Montreal courtroom with a victory for himself and the entire abortion rights movement. Without it, he will face life imprisonment and the enemies of women's right to control their lives will have won a major victory.

The response to the Aug. 31 call from Montreal for supporters of the two doctors to organize a cross-country campaign in their defense, has been impressive.

On Sept. 11, at a meeting of 300 people in Montreal, a broad French language defense committee was launched to defend Drs. Morgentaler and Macchabee. Participants overwhelmingly adopted "drop the charges" as the main demand of the campaign.

Among those attending the meeting were representatives from the Front Commun pour L'Abrogation des Lois sur L'Avortement (Common Front for Repeal of the Abortion Laws), Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), Quebec Teachers' Union (CEQ), Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO), Montreal Labor Council of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) and the Centre des Femmes (Women's Center). Prominent TV and radio personalities participated.

The meeting also endorsed repeal of the abortion laws and free abortion and contraception on demand. A steering committee of 12 people was elected to coordinate defense activities, the first of which will take place on Sept. 24.



'DEFEND DR. MORGENTALER,' was one demand raised by Sept. 8 demonstration of B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee.

An English language defense committee was also launched in Montreal two days later.

In Ottawa, following a successful press conference the previous day, a defense committee was launched on Sept. 13 by a meeting of 50 people, representing organizations such as the Humanists, the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), ARCAL and the Women's Center.

MPs Grace MacInnis and Stuart Leggatt, both of whom have Private Member's bills for repeal of abortion laws from the criminal code pending in the House, have indicated their support for the defense committee. Peter Reilly, a Conservative MP and staunch Roman Catholic, has offered full support to the campaign and attended both the press conference and founding meeting of the Ottawa defense committee. Reilly's strong anti-abortion views changed radically after he saw photographs of women who died from self-induced or butcher abortions published recently in Ms magazine.

Plans are moving ahead for the formation of defense committees in other part of Canada. In Toronto, supporters will meet on Sept. 18. Recent Toronto endorsers of the defense campaign include broadcaster Pierre Berton; Esther Greenglass of the Liberal Task Force on the Status of Women; Grace Hartman of CUPE and a member of the Trudeau government's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women. A cross-country conference of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and CUPE Local 251 in Oshawa, Ontario, have also endorsed the defense effort. A picket line and rally has been called for Sept. 22 by the Canadian Women's Coalition in Toronto.

The founding defense committee meeting in Vancouver, scheduled for Sept. 25, has already received broad support. New endorsers include the B.C. NDP provincial council and the B.C. NDP Women's Conference which was attended by women from more than 35 organizations.

Defense work has only just begun. Supporters must continue to spread the news of the Montreal doctors and the importance of their cases.

With a strong, visible campaign which mobilizes support from every part of the country, one message alone will reach those who now presume to dictate over the lives of women: DROP THE CHARGES, NOW!!!

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NDP women challenge Barrett to act

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

VANCOUVER — "We want action, now!" chanted 150 women confronting B.C. premier David Barrett here Sept. 8.

The women, from more than 30 women's groups, were brought together by a weekend conference called by the B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee. They marched on the party headquarters and demanded that Barrett, who was attending an NDP provincial council meeting there, come out and meet with them.

Barrett attempted to smile as Joyce Meissenheimer, spokeswoman for the demonstration, listed the groups' demands. She said that the women were demanding immediate action on previously approved party policy on women's rights, including free 24-hour child care, repeal of the anti-labor laws, and accessible abortion facilities for women throughout the province.

Barrett responded that he "couldn't be expected to solve all your problems at once."

"Just try one, then," a woman shouted out. "Start by meeting one of our demands."

"One year is long enough to wait," shouted another, and the chant, "Act now" began again.

Looking at two large banners reading "Abortion: A woman's right to choose" and "Defend Dr. Morgentaler — Drop the charges," Barrett pleaded, "Surely all of you must know that abortion is a federal matter."

As the women continued to chant and heckle, Barrett became visibly more nervous. He reminded the demonstrators that the NDP government is their "best hope for progress" and arrogantly replied to their demands for immediate legislation and for a ministry of women's rights with the comment: "We are committed to act on behalf of all humans," he said. "Not just women."

"You'll be seeing more of us," the women told Barrett as he left to go into the council meeting.

The militant demonstration was the highlight of the conference which was organized to elaborate further policy on women's rights for the provincial NDP convention to be held this November. Participants in women's groups who were not members of the NDP were encouraged to participate in the first day of the conference in the panels and workshops on major areas of concern to women — child care, health, labor and education.

But the anger of the women, who had grown impatient with the NDP government's failure to act on women's rights, caused the conference to become focused on the question of how to get the government to act on the main demands

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'ACTION NOW' was demand of militant NDP women who confronted B.C. premier David Barrett (left) outside party headquarters. Barrett shrugged off demands that he implement NDP's program of women's rights. At right is Joyce Meissenheimer, a leader of NDP women's rights committee.

already put forward by the feminist movement. Many of these demands, adopted by party conventions, are already incorporated into official NDP policy, but are totally ignored by the government.

This growing impatience was evident during the first session Saturday morning. Women on the panels gave eloquent testimony to the unresponsiveness of the government in its first year in office.

Monica Jones, B.C. coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, made "unity in action" the theme of her presentation on the health panel. In face of the mounting attacks on women's right to abortion, she posed the urgent need to unite in struggle for this basic right. She said the B.C.government must be forced to act on party policy that calls for abortion clinics and facilities and support for the struggle to repeal the federal abortion laws.

Melanie Conn of the Women's Health Collective agreed that repeal of the abortion laws is "a top priority." She said that her group saw the right to abortion as symbolic of women's right to make decisions over their bodies and lives.

Joyce Meissenheimer expressed the spirit of the other speakers, repeating the labor slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." She announced that Barrett would be at the provincial council and that it "might be a good idea to all go down there and show him how angry the women of this province are." The conference voted unanimously to do so.

After the demonstration the discussion continued. The conference participants decided to call a conference, to be held within a month and open to all women's groups, to discuss forming an action coalition to pressure the government to act on women's demands.

The conference also decided to support a call for a B.C. committee to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal doctor who is facing 13 charges under the abortion laws. The NDP provincial council meeting also endorsed this committee.

The second day of the conference was open only to NDP women and dealt largely with policy that was to be drawn up for the NDP convention. Much of this discussion got bogged down in trying to work out all the details of how the government could implement women's rights policy and discussions of procedures for liaison between the NDP women's rights committee and the "appropriate government departments."

This discussion fell into the category of "doing Barrett's and the boys' work for them," as one impatient woman in the day care workshop the day before described it. She suggested that "We work out what we want and how we can force the government to give it to us. Let them work out the details of how they are going to do it."

Some women expressed fears that the militant actions by the women would be used against the party or that they would be called "irresponsible" party members.

Shelagh Day, of the University of B.C. Action Committee, disagreed. "I don't see what everybody's so nervous about," she said. "I don't see what we have to lose." She described her experiences at UBC where she authored a brief on the status of women. "At UBC we haven't been irresponsible — we've been bloody naive! We thought because we pointed out what was wrong it would be solved!"

Betsy Wood, a leader of last winter's child care occupation who is presently suing the government for action they took against the Southhill child care center, spoke on the problem of relying on the good will of the government. She commented on the remarks of several women that a women's ministry is what is needed to solve the problem of communication with the government. "I'm disturbed about the women's ministry," she said.

"I have some fears that if we say we want the ministry we are not saying we want action right now. We could even get the ministry in a couple of years. Barrett might even give it to us, but on his terms. We could wait a couple of years and just end up with another ministry."

Wendy Stevenson, of the League for Socialist Action, pointed to "power here in this room." She referred to the demonstration against Barrett as a small example of the kind of power women must use.

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Women's liberation and native rights

by KATHLEEN DALTON

On Aug. 27, the Supreme Court of Canada, in a 5-4 decision, upheld Section XII (i) B of the Indian Act, which declares that registered Indian women who marry men not of Indian registry automatically lose all their treaty rights. Treaty rights include such things as the right to live and be buried on the reserve, and the right to pass registered status on to children.

The court acknowledged that the Indian Act discriminates against women on the grounds of sex, since under the Act, the treaty rights of registered Indian men are automatically extended to the non-registered women they marry, as well as their children. But the judges declared that the Bill of Rights, invoked by some Indian women against this discriminatory clause in the Act, could not overrule the Act. That power, the court said, remains in the hands of parliament alone.

The court ruling means that Jeannette Lavell and Yvonne Bedard, two Indian women who lost their status as Indians upon marriage to white men, could not live on their reserves.

The Supreme Court's ruling has become a source of wide debate, particularly in the women's liberation movement. Canada's largest women's organization, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), voted at its cross-Canada conference held in Toronto, Sept. 9, to give priority to opposition to the Supreme Court ruling. NAC has telegrammed Prime Minister Trudeau demanding he prevent Indians from evicting non-status Indian women from the reserves. NAC has also demanded that parliament repeal the pertinent section of the Indian Act, and called on the Supreme Court to review the case again. Demonstrations are planned across the country commemorating the "death of the Bill of Rights," and condemning the Supreme Court decision.

NAC is making a serious error. Clearly, the Indian Act clause is discriminatory. But how the women's movement should solidarize with and aid native women in their struggle for rights as women, is a more complex question. The Indian Act violates the native peoples' right of self-determination, by arbitrarily defining who is an Indian — not by how the Indians themselves define their identity, but according to such criteria as married status, whether or not their ancestors signed a treaty with the Queen, whether or not they are "registered" as Indians in Ottawa, etc. In calling on the white Canadian courts and government to rule who is an Indian and who is not, NAC (and more recently, the Trudeau government's Advisory Council on the Status of Women) cut across the Indians' right, a basic right of any people. The native movement is fighting for the right to decide this themselves.

Jeannette Lavell

The women's liberation movement should support the struggles of native women, and urge the native movement to make women's rights part of its struggle. Many feminists are justifiably outraged that the section of the Bill of Rights that outlaws discrimination by reason of sex has been declared invalid by the Supreme Court. But in fighting against discrimination, feminists should not be calling on the white courts to interfere with the native peoples' rights.

Lavell and Bedard, having lost confidence that the native people could settle the question agreeably, brought the case to the white man's courts, where natives were pitted against each other with the white man as judge. Lavell lost the first court battle; then won a appeal in a higher court; then lost before the Supreme Court.

Opposing Lavell before the Supreme Court were the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians and the National Indian Brotherhood. While some native spokesmen defended the discriminatory clause, all of Lavell's opponents said that the Indian Act must stand until the Indians decide otherwise.

The National Indian Brotherhood (Canada's largest native organization) is now discussing what changes to make in the Indian Act. It is expected to present proposals within a year — including a proposed revision of the section of the act that is prejudicial to women.

Indian women are doubly oppressed. They are oppressed as women, in common with all women. And they are oppressed as Indians, in common with the native people as a whole. Both aspects necessitate struggle against the capitalist state, the agent of their oppression. Indians have good reason to conclude that the state cannot liberate them as Indians or women. In seeking allies in their struggle, they are increasingly looking to other oppressed groups, rather than to the white, capitalist government and courts.

Canada's native population numbers about 500,000, plus an additional 350,000 mixed-blood Metis. A few figures, provided by the government's Hawthorne-Tremblay report, amply expose their incredible oppression: 47 percent earn less than $1,000 per year; the unemployment rate is 10 times the national average; only 200 Indian

→2

youth attend university each year.

The source of the natives' oppression is clear. Who stole the Indian lands? Who broke the sacred treaties made between two supposedly sovereign nations? Who imposed the Indian Act, which resulted in divisions and fears that if non-status Indians and whites invade the reserves, the Indians will lose what little control they have over their lives? Who is now attempting to impose cultural assimilation on the native people?

It is obvious who is to blame: the white man's government, courts and laws.

Until the conquest of the white invader, Indians had governing systems marked by egalitarianism, humanism and primitive communism, with generally no concept of private property, plunder or discrimination.

Writing on native women in the recently-published collection "Women in Canada" (New Press, Toronto), Sherrill Cheda states: "Evidence shows that most tribes east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes, and the Iroquois, Algonquins, Hurons and Ojibwas had clans of matrilineal if not matriarchal descent .... Indian women had more independence, security, and variety of roles than did her white sister .... She had the right of divorce ... trial marriage ... land and harvest control ... and the use of birth control."

The oppression of native women and the oppression of the native people as a whole began with the advent of the white invaders who brought with them the concept of the partiarchy, sexism, private property and a class system. The white system could not coexist with the natives' democracy, so a genocidal assault was launched to destroy the native way of life.

A strong point in today's movement of natives for self-determination is their identification with their ancient society and way of life before the white man.

It is necessary to forge and develop an alliance between the women's liberation movement and the native movement. They have a common enemy. Any infringement suffered by the natives in their right of self-determination hurts the women's movement as well, in legitimizing government intervention in the movements of the oppressed.

The action of NAC tends to weaken the overall struggle against the oppressor by dividing women from natives. The Lavell case, as NAC handles it, is directed as much, if not more, against Indians as against the government. The women's liberation movement should solidarize with the struggles of Indians, particularly Indian women — but it should not come between Indian women and the rest of their people.

The leadership of NAC is part of a reformist current in the women's movement, which is using the Lavell case to divert the women's liberation movement away from the key cross-country struggle at this time — the fight to repeal the abortion laws, and in particular, the urgency to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler, facing possible life imprisonment for performing abortions. It is no accident that NAC and Trudeau's Advisory Council should pick up this case now. A report on the most recent Advisory Council meeting in the Sept. 12 Globe and Mail made this clear: "Discussion by the advisory council on abortion and its removal from the Criminal Code will have to wait for another time. The problems arising out of the Indian Act and an amendment to the Canadian Labor Code to remove limitations as they pertain to pensions and insurance for women are being considered more immediate issues, and expected to take up most of the council's time."

The Lavell case has exposed the oppression of native women, who are just beginning to organize for their rights. This movement of native women is still groping for a correct direction, much like the women's liberation movement as a whole.

The women's liberation movement must solidarize with and support the struggles of native women. But they must not impose their views or strategy. And most importantly, they must not direct native women to look to the white government or courts for justice.

'INDIAN RIGHTS FOR INDIAN WOMEN' was theme of Indian Women's Rights conference held in Ottawa last year. Conference was divided in opinion on Lavell case.

labor Challenge #86 Sept 1973

Ontario NDP expels two socialists

On Sept. 15, the provincial council of the Ontario NDP, meeting in Timmins, confirmed the provincial executive's expulsion of two socialists from the party. Those expelled are Cliff Mack and George Addison, both members of St. Andrew-St. Patrick riding association in Toronto.

Cliff Mack was a leader of the West Coast student demonstrations protesting the Amchitka nuclear blast in 1971, and later a student activist at the University of Toronto. He has been told by ONDP Secretary Gordon Vichert he is being expelled because he contested the 1972 Toronto municipal elections for the League for Socialist Action (actually it was as a school board candidate for the Young Socialists). But there was no NDP candidate for the board in that ward, and Mack entered his nomination only after unsuccessfully appealing to the NDP to run a full slate of candidates for all posts on the council and school board!

George Addison quit the Liberal party and joined the NDP as a student at the University of Western Ontario in the early 1960s. He is the former executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the leading antiwar organization in the Toronto area for many years. As a VMC leader, he frequently arranged for NDP leaders to address antiwar demonstrations, and encouraged the party to build the antiwar movement. He is presently editor of Labor Challenge, which has been a consistent campaigner for the NDP and the fight for a class-struggle program in the party since the NDP's founding.

George Addison addresses antiwar rally in Ottawa, April 18, 1971.

In the accompanying letter to Addison printed on this page, ONDP Secretary Vichert attempted to justify the expulsions.

Addison presented an appeal to the provincial council for both the expelled. Unlike previous expulsion appeals, the party leadership, undoubtedly under the pressure of the widespread rank-and-file opposition to the purge of the left-wing "Waffle" group last year, felt obliged to grant him extensive speaking time in the meeting.

Addison attacked the undemocratic character of the expulsions, defended the right of LSA and YS members to hold party membership, and called for the dropping of all charges. He was interrupted several times by chairman Mel Swart, ONDP president, who ruled that Addison's references to the bureaucratic character of the party leadership and its reformist politics were not relevant to the case.

Provincial Secretary Gordon Vichert replied to Addison's appeal, citing deep political differences between the NDP leadership and the LSA as the reason for the expulsions. He cited previous council rulings defining the LSA as an opponent political party.

Leaflets explaining the right of LSA members to be in the NDP were distributed to all delegates.

In a letter to Vichert, read to the council meeting, Cliff Mack noted that "as a member of the Young Socialists on the University of Toronto last year, I along with other students took part in campaigning for the NDP in the federal elections . . . urging the campus population to vote for the NDP as the working class alternative to the Liberals and Conservatives, parties of big business. The Young Socialists did this right across Canada, explaining the issues through leaflets and the sale of the newspaper, Young Socialist. On the campuses and high-schools across this country, we have undoubtedly made a big contribution to winning student support for the NDP in elections."

The Young Socialists are the only cross-country student and youth organization that supports the NDP. Its program is in fraternal solidarity with the LSA.

The council meeting voted to confirm the expulsions, with four delegates out of the more than 50 present voting against. A few delegates abstained. One delegate, saying he did not want to be part of a lynch mob, demanded that the question be postponed to get the opinion of Addison and Mack's riding.

Why socialists fight to belong to NDP
(In reply to Gordon Vichert)

(Y-R tendency article – see "Labor Party "Subversion of our orientation")

by DICK FIDLER
(From Labor Challenge, September 1973)

Gordon Vichert's letter, reproduced on this page, *(on file –ed.)* is a declaration of war against not only the revolutionary socialists, but all in the New Democratic Party who seek to struggle for radical social change.

This is the meaning of his statement that the Ontario NDP executive "will . . . consistently deny membership in the NDP" to "adherents" of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists on the grounds that they aim "to provide a program for the broad struggle against the bureaucratic right-wing leadership, and for a socialist course, and to lead this struggle in action."

The NDP leadership, Vichert states, will not tolerate within the party "a point of view which is in fundamental opposition to the democratic socialism of the NDP."

It was on the basis of similar charges that the "Waffle" caucus was purged from the Ontario NDP last year, on the spurious grounds that the Waffle constituted a "party within the party." As the report of the ONDP executive committee, headed by Vichert, argued: ". . . the Waffle presents a direct and fundamental challenge to the whole structure, direction, purpose and leadership of the party."

The NDP leadership's hostility to the Waffle and their bureaucratic campaigns against it have refuted in life Vichert's cynical references to the "democratic" practices of the NDP.

WITCH-HUNT CONTINUES

The Waffle purge in Ontario failed to eliminate the socialists, however. Former supporters of the Waffle, including the members of the LSA and YS, decided to "stay and fight" for socialist policies in the NDP. And the recent federal convention in Vancouver indicated that socialist opposition in the party, while at an ebb, is by no means dead. Now the ONDP executive and council, setting themselves up as judge, jury and executioner, are repeating their witch-hunt performance against the left. This is the meaning of the expulsions of Cliff Mack, a leader of the Young Socialists, and George Addison, editor of *Labor Challenge.*

SOCIALISM AND . . .SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

In his letter to Addison, Vichert openly acknowledges that the LSA has been proscribed essentially because it holds a dissident viewpoint on what direction the NDP

should take. According to Vichert, the LSA's "road to socialism" is incompatible with the "democratic socialism" of the NDP's present program and leadership.

The LSA and YS, it is true, make no secret of the fact that our political viewpoint is radically different from that of Gordon Vichert. We believe that the goal of socialism is not just the reform of capitalism, as project- ed by the present NDP leadership and program, but its overthrow; that a socialist society must be based on nationalization not private ownership, of the means of production, distribution and exchange. But are these objectives now proscribed within the NDP?

We believe that a socialist society will be created only through the action of the majority of the working class and its allies, taking power and through a workers government moving toward the expropriation of the capitalist class.

The tragic example of Chile demonstrates anew that the capitalist rulers will not give up their privileges and power as a class without the strongest resistance. A socialist government must therefore be prepared not only to disarm the capitalists economically, through wide-scale nationalization of industry, but politically — through dismantling the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. The League for Socialist Action holds that to accomplish these crucial tasks, the workers will have to construct a mass political party armed with a revolutionary program and leadership.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

We believe that the New Democratic Party, as a labor party based on, financed by and responsible to the trade unions, the organizations the workers have built in the course of their struggles against the bosses, is an important step forward in this process. The NDP is the form through which the working class confronts today the political parties of the capitalists.

But the present liberal-reformist program of the NDP is inadequate to defend and advance the interests of the workers.

Workers' real wages are falling rapidly today as a result ot capitalist-induced inflation. Yet the NDP has no program to defend jobs and living standards, let alone qualitatively alter the relationship of forces between the workers and the bosses to the advantage of the workers.

Instead of supporting unconditionally all labor struggles, the NDP parliamentary caucus has on several occasions voted to support strike- breaking legislation, and NDP provincial governments have left much antilabor legislation on the books.

The NDP leadership have failed to give all-out support to the struggles of oppressed peoples, here or abroad: the party hesitated to call for U.S. imperialism's withdrawal from southeast Asia and did little to mobilize broad opposition to Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war; the NDP leadership has consistently opposed recognizing Quebec's

right to national self-determination (the major reason for the NDP's failure to sink significant roots in Quebec); the party's identification with the women's rights movement has been largely formal, and it has failed to mobilize the mass sentiment for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws.

The party's public activities are largely confined to the parliamentary and legislative chambers and the election hustings; its local constituency associations function simply as electoral machines with little discussion of political program or engagement in extra-parliamentary movements.

The NDP leadership's “road to socialism" is not a road at all; it is a deadend. It is Social Democratic, not socialist. Nowhere in the world has Social Democracy established anti-capitalist regimes. In Sweden, Britain and other countries, Social-Democratic governments have demonstrated their role as staunch defenders of capitalist rule, in times of economic crisis even serving to restrict the rights and power of trade unions and the working people as a whole.

FOR CLASS STRUGGLE POLICIES

The revolutionary socialists of the LSA and YS proceed from different premises. We advance a program in the NDP that in our view will make the party the most effective possible instrument of the workers' movement. Within the NDP we participate in all the day-to-day activities of the party, from canvassing in elections to holding executive posts in riding associations: We work to strengthen the party's labor base, urging trade unions to affiliate, signing working people into the party and urging them to help build it. We consider ourselves to be a vital part of the NDP.

The LSA and YS campaign for the election of NDP governments in provincial and federal elections, and demand that the party contest against the big parties at all levels. The LSA has consistently called on the NDP to contest civic elections under the party label.

As part of an integrated strategy to thrust the party forward along the road of class struggle politics, we fight for the NDP to adopt policies that advance the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed of Canadian society and around the world – for Canada's withdrawal from all imperialist military alliances, in defense of the colonial revolution and against Canada's complicity in imperialist wars; for Quebec's right of self-determination, for unconditional support of labor's struggles, and opposition to state intervention in the labor movement whether through parliamentary strikebreaking or other anti-labor legislation, or the use of courts, police and arbitration; for full support of women's liberation, including the current campaign for repeal of restrictive abortion laws.

Our strategy in the NDP is to mobilize the party around a program and actions, electoral and extra-parliamentary, that can advance the class consciousness of workers, the independent power and striking force of the working class. The revolutionary program and strategy in the NDP is not based on fantasy or dreamed up in isolation from

the struggle; on the contrary, it flows out of a scientific assessment of the experiences and lessons of the whole history of the workers' movement, both here in Canada and internationally.

Are these views, these actions, incompatible with membership in the NDP? Many NDP members not in the LSA or YS support some, if not all, of these positions. Even the party leadership have occasionally been obliged, by objective circumstances and the pressure of the ranks, to identify with some of them.

THE RIGHT OF DISSIDENTS TO ORGANIZE

Moreover, a long history of rank-and-file caucuses in the NDP and its predecessor, the CCF, indicates that many party members who hold views at variance with the leadership's or the mainstream opinion in the party, have felt required to organize to defend or advance their viewpoint. Members of the LSA and YS have played an active role in building such broad rank and file caucuses for socialist policies.

The LSA states openly that while the NDP is an important part of the process by which the working class moves toward political class consciousness. If the struggle for workers' power and a socialist society is to succeed it is necessary to build a mass revolutionary party on the Leninist model, selective in its recruitment, with disciplined cadres — a combat party that alone is capable of leading the struggle against the inevitable all-out resistance of the exploiters.

The LSA views itself as the nucleus of such a party, based on the program and traditions of the early Communist party and the international revolutionary socialist movement, as today embodied in the Fourth International (Trotskyist).

Vichert agrees with the League that the NDP cannot become the vehicle for socialist revolution. The difference is that he and the NDP bureaucracy do not agree that revolutionary changes are required. And by expelling and excluding members "and adherents" of the LSA, Vichert and the NDP bureaucracy confirm that they have no intention whatsoever of allowing the party ranks to examine and decide on the merits of the revolutionary socialist program.

Vichert, of course, is in profound disagreement with the League (LSA –ed.) on these and many other questions. But how does the discussion of such disagreements constitute "consistently destructive" conduct toward the NDP? Vichert can produce no evidence to sustain his charge — because no evidence exists. The LSA's record is one of consistent support of the NDP combined with criticism of its inadequate program and leadership.

DEFEND DEMOCRACY IN THE NDP!

And who or what gives the NDP bureaucracy the right to arbitrarily decide what the Vichert committee in 1972 termed "the proper limits of criticism and dissent"—to declare certain (revolutionary) views beyond the pale, and exclude those who hold them?

Workers are not excluded from trade unions when they hold minority views. Why, then, should socialists be excluded from the political party of the trade unions? Long experience teaches that purges, exclusions and expulsions only harm the labor party, weakening it as an effective fighting instrument of the labor movement. The NDP would be made a far more effective force if it were open to all who support the principle of independent labor political action — a federated party recognizing the right of distinct political tendencies to organize to win the party membership to their views, the party press open to discussion of various policies and tactics within the range of left-wing options.

We challenge Gordon Vichert and the ONDP executive: if they truly believe their particular version of "democratic socialism" is superior, why should they not allow other viewpoints among supporters of the NDP to contend within the party?

In pursuing their witch-hunt practices against left-wing dissidents, it is Vichert and Co. who are "consistently destructive" of the NDP's internal democracy. Try as they might, however, they cannot eliminate all left opposition within the party. To the degree that the NDP is rooted in the class struggle, rank-and-file militant currents will inevitably emerge to contest the class-collaborationist course of the leadership.

The LSA and YS reaffirm our intention to be a part of that process, - to continue the fight for socialist policies in the NDP.

=====start Photo caption box====

Photo caption: 1971 FEDERAL NDP LEADERSHIP CONTEST saw Waffle's Jim Laxer (lower right) finish second to David Lewis (top left), only a few months before purge of Waffle from Ontario NDP. With the expulsion of George Addison and Cliff Mack, the witch-hunt of socialists goes on.

=======end box==========

labor Challenge
#86 Sept 1973

Drive for new readers

Off to a brisk start

by GRANT HARGRAVE

Our fall subscription drive for 2,500 new readers by Nov. 13 is off to a brisk start. Initial reports (indicated on the scoreboard below) show us the big opportunities for selling subscriptions to Labor Challenge, the student monthly Young Socialist and the French-language monthly Liberation over the next few weeks. Supporters in St. Catharines have already gone over their original goal. In Montreal, Ottawa and Edmonton, our salespeople tell us that it's easy to sell the socialist press, and they are well on their way to reaching their goals.

Selling subscriptions is easy because the papers sell themselves. As more and more people become interested in socialist ideas, the authority and reputation of our papers grow.

Our special introductory offer of eight issues of Labor Challenge and eight issues of Young Socialist for only $2.00 makes it easy to introduce these papers to new readers for a very small investment. Liberation has a similar offer of eight issues for $1.00.

The military coup in Chile has dealt a hard blow to the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. Behind the defeat of the revolutionary mobilizations of workers and peasants was the absence of a mass revolutionary party, which could have led them forward to taking power, and could have defeated the military onslaught.

In Argentina, the Trostkyist movement is engaged in building such a party on the Leninist model. Part of the process of building the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) is running the only working class campaign in the current Argentine presidential election, against the Peronist and other capitalist parties.

Labor Challenge last week sent correspondent Phil Courneyeur to Argentina to write in-depth coverage of this campaign, as well as reports on the situation in neighboring Chile.

When we asked our readers for money last spring, to help finance the year's publication of Labor Challenge, we did not plan to do this. Thus we are appealing to you for money to make this very special project possible. Why not send us a cheque today?

And if you don't already subscribe, make sure you don't miss a single one of Phil Courneyeur's reports from South America. Subscribe now!

PHIL COURNEYEUR, Labor Challenge correspondent in Argentina.

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Edmonton	250	84	33
Ottawa	100	29	29
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Toronto West	525	74	14
Vancouver	325	37	11
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Winnipeg	—	12	—
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Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionary leader in exile in Chile is one of **Intercontinental Press's** regular correspondents.

His graphic coverage of the tense situation, particularly the reaction of the workers who want to move forward to socialism, has met with a warm response from our readers. They find his reports a welcome contrast to the silence — or the tendentious accounts in the capitalist communications media.

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LSA/LSO INTERNAL

I N F O R M A T I O N B U L L E T I N

Vol. 1, No. 1 Oct. 1973

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The material in this bulletin is published by the Political Committee for the information of members of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

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STATEMENT OF A TENDENCY FORMATION IN THE LSA/LSO

Early last Fall and immediately prior to our spring convention our press expressed considerable confusion as to our orientation to the NDP, which the Mandel-Maitan-Frank Faction took advantage of for their factional purpose.

In the convention itself the reporter of the Political Resolution in his summary remarks declared that the concept of unconditional but critical support by the Canadian Trotskyists of the mass labor party formation, the NDP, was not his view, and by impliciation not that of the majority of the leadership. In dissociating himself from this concept he specifically referred to the document Our Orientation to the NDP; the Strategy and its Tactical Application where it is developed at some length. This document, while submitted to the 1970 convention in the name of an individual, had the endorsement of the Political Committee.

Despite periodic protests by some leading comrades and without discussion on the Political Committee or in the Toronto branches, since the convention a whole series of important articles relevant to different aspects of the NDP and our work have been published in our press. These articles show a clear trend towards a sectarian revision of our longstanding strategic orientation and in our opinion, in their totality, constitute an abandonment of our orientation to the mass labor party.

As the 1970 document points out, "Our CCF-NDP orientation and its effective application has been the hardest fought position in the history of the movement, established against trends of centrist conciliationism and liquidationism into the NDP, sectarian opposition to the NDP, and in more recent years, spontaneist and adventurist hostility to it..." And further; "it (the CCF-NDP) is the touchstone of class politics. All working class politics revolve around it and an incorrect position on it is fatal."

It is in order to commence a process of an open and serious discussion within the movement and to defend the long-standing strategic orientation of our movement to the NDP that we declare the formation of the Labor Party Tendency.

October 4, 1973

(signed) Gord D.
Ross D.
Harry K.
Zane B.
Jim M.
H.M.
Wayne R.
Jim C.
Jane C.
Dale R.
Claire D.
G.T.
Lynda D.

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON THE FORMATION OF THE LABOR PARTY TENDENCY.

The Political Committee has received the statement of formation of the "Labor Party Tendency" in the LSA/LSO.

The formation of this tendency comes at an unusual time. Less than six months have passed since our convention, and since the closing of an exhaustive 11-month pre convention discussion. The New Democratic Party orientation was a hotly debated topic at that convention. The convention's position was unambiguous: it adopted a Political Resolution which reaffirmed the LSA/LSO's long-standing orientation to the NDP.

The task after the convention was to turn the movement outward, to take advantage of the many opportunities facing us to build the movement. Only in this way could the correctness of the adopted line be tested.

The movement is heavily involved in preparing for the coming World Congress of the Fourth International, the most important since the 1963 reunification. To form a tendency and demand the reopening of the discussion at such a time is a highly unusual step.

In explaining its formation the Labor Party Tendency claims that recent articles in our press "in their totality, constitute an abandonment of our orientation to the mass labor party." If, as it claims, our press had indeed abandoned our orientation to the NDP, the orientation long defended by the leadership and reaffirmed by the convention, it would certainly be urgent to call this to the attention of the Political Committee so that a correction could be made.

The Labor Party Tendency expresses concern that there has been no discussion of the "abandonment of the NDP orientation" in the Political Committee. It is true that members of the Labor Party Tendency have told Political Committee members that they believed our press to have "abandoned the NDP orientation." But they have failed to respond to repeated requests that they present their criticisms to the Political Committee or the Editorial Board, to make a leadership discussion possible.

Comrade Riddell's September 20 letter to Comrade Dowson (appended) explains the view of Political Committee members who have discussed this question with Comrade Dowson. Comrade Riddell writes:

"I told you at our meeting a month ago that as far as I can see, the line we are carrying in Labor Challenge is the line defined by the resolutions adopted by LSA/LSO conventions and plenums ... You think that Labor Challenge's line is in opposition to our orientation to the NDP. Then you should present your criticisms to other leading comrades in the Political Committee. This is the only way we can correct errors, if errors are being made; or bring to light political

differences, if political differences really exist. I still have no idea what is the nature of the political errors which you believe Labor Challenge is making in its NDP coverage -- aside from possible questions of emphasis....

"We all agree, I'm sure, on how harmful it is if criticisms leading comrades may have formulated start to circulate through the ranks of the movement; how harmful it is for any discussion like this to begin in a private circle or on a private basis, before the leadership has had a chance to come to grips with the matter..."

The statement of the Labor Party Tendency does not overcome this problem. It neither indicates what its criticisms are, nor on what political positions it has been formed.

A dangerous situation can arise if a group of comrades begin private discussions where they develop their criticisms of the leadership, without introducing their views into the movement's leading bodies. The dangers of such a situation were described in the 1968 resolution on our organizational principles:

"Concentration on private discussions on the fringe of the movement tends to give comrades involved a one-sided view, lines them up quickly, and prejudices their thinking, before they have heard the open party debate, and warps their capacity for objective political judgement. Such conduct arises from and tends to develop into personal and unprincipled clique politics in the party which must be mercilessly fought against."

A further danger arises if a discussion is opened up in the membership before the leadership has been able to come to grips with the questions at issue. If the leadership is to lead the movement, it must be afforded an opportunity to discuss and take a position on important matters.

The comrades who have formed the Labor Party Tendency aim, through this step, to help achieve a positive clarification of the problems they believe to have seen in our line on the NDP. For such a clarification to take place, and for these dangers to be avoided two things are necessary.

The Labor Party Tendency must constitute itself on declared political positions. It must document the positions it has set out to defend, and clarify the exact nature of the "errors" which it has set out to correct.

The Labor Party Tendency must present its criticisms on the line of our press on the NDP to the Political Committee. Thereby the Political Committee will be able to begin in the leadership the "open and serious discussion" desired by the Labor Party Tendency.

October 12, 1973

Letter of John Riddell to Ross Dowson, September 20, 1973

COPY COPY COPY

Toronto, Ontario
September 20, 1973

Ross Dowson
Toronto

Dear Ross,

On July 20 you wrote me on whether you hould go to the Leninist-Trotskyist conference in August. I received the letter after my return. In the meantime, the main question you posed, had been resolved.

In the second part of your letter, you raised the question of our orientation to the New Democratic Party. When you and I got together with Phil and Art just after the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction conference, this was one of the questions we discussed. This letter is to set down the point of view which I expressed briefly to you in that discussion.

In your letter, you mention "Comrade Fidler's comments in his summary reply to the Revolutionary Communist Tendency's attack on our NDP orientation. Comrade Fidler dissociated himself from what he called Dowson's concept of critical but unconditional support by the LSA/LSO of the NDP. I told you that I considered this an attack on our strategic orientation to the NDP and that it was now being implemented in the pages of Labor Challenge."

I told you at our meeting a month ago that as far as I can see, the line we are carrying in Labor Challenge is the line defined by the resolutions adopted by LSA/LSO conventions and plenums including the Political Resolution and political report adopted by the April convention. This is the line which the Editorial Board has set out to apply. You think that Labor Challenge's line is in opposition to our orientation to the NDP. Then you should present your criticisms to other leading comrades in the Political Committee. This is the only way we can correct errors, if errors are being made; or bring to light political differences, if political differences really exist. I still have no idea what is the nature of the political errors which you believe Labor Challenge is making in its NDP coverage -- aside from possible questions of emphasis.

The 1970 document was not adopted by a convention, and does not constitute part of the line of the LSA/LSO, as defined by conventions. I think the 1970 convention did not adopt the document for a good reason -- its generally historical character and the very condensed and limited discussion it contains on the overall character of the orientation and on our present tasks. But no differences of political line are involved here.

A number of aspects of the document are worth further discussion in the leadership. But only when such a discussion gets underway will be find out whether we have political differences over the 1970 document, or differences on formulation, or whether apparent differences resolve upon being discussed.

You say that you consider Dick's criticism of the formulation "unconditional support" to involve an attack on our strategic orientation to the NDP. Dick's position on this question is not new; he wrote a document on it in 1966, I believe, to which Helen Olson wrote a reply. This is the first time I can remember it being suggested that his position was incompatible with our orientation to the NDP. If this is true, it means that the difference is not merely one of forumulations, but involves a central question of substance affecting what we do in our NDP work. I've seen no evidence that a central question of substance is involved. But then we have never discussed the question, and neither you nor Dick has presented your point of view to other PC members.

On all three points, we have not yet been able to initiate the discussion within the Political Committee. Until this discussion gets underway, it is premature to draw conclusions about the character of differences which may be thought to exist.

We agreed in August to start this discussion as soon as practical, so that you could present your views on the errors you think Labor Challenge is making, and we can get into the question of the significance of the 1970 document. We've now decided to begin this discussion in the meetings of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction supporters in the Political Committee.

We all agree, I'm sure, on how harmful it is if criticisms leading comrades may have formulated in advance of such a discussion start to circulate through the ranks of the movement; how harmful it is for any discussion like this to begin in a private circle or on a private basis, before the leadership has had a chance to come to grips with the matter. This is good reason to get the discussions in the L-T caucus underway without delay, and to give them amply time to unfold.

Comradely,
s/John

c.c: file
Beiner and Levis, Montréal
Henderson and Steele, Vancouver

Trial of Dr. Morgentaler begins

labor Challenge

OCTOBER 8, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 17 [87]
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#87 Oct 1973

Bloodbath continues

Act now to defend victims of Chile coup!

The Chilean military junta unleashed massive terror against left and workers' movements after Sept. 11 coup. Thousands are dead or imprisoned, dragged from their homes by armed forces, or killed in factories and universities while resisting coup.

by THE EDITORS

On Sept. 29, the Canadian government formally recognized the military junta of Chile. External Affairs minister Sharp said the move "does not imply any particular attitude toward the government being recognized."

Sharp's justification is pure hypocrisy. Canada delayed recognition of China for more than 20 years. It still does not recognize the German Democratic Republic or the People's Republic of Korea. The real reason for Canada's speedy recognition of the generals' regime is to be found elsewhere in Sharp's statement where he said that the move was necessary to handle "Canadian interests" in Chile.

The Canadian ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross, made Canadian objectives very clear. In a confidential cable to Ottawa which was printed in the Sept. 26 Toronto Star, Ross suggested that recognition be carried through quickly. He went on to justify the coup as necessary to prevent civil war, and proceeded to whitewash the military regime: "From my knowledge of views of senior military officers, unlike Brazilian or Peruvian models, they would intend to turn government back to civil authority with the minimum delay feasible." Ross considered the fact that the new government is en-

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tirely military "a hopeful sign that the armed forces are determined to avoid becoming identified with any political current . . . ."

NDP leader David Lewis told a Glace Bay, N.S.

Feature coverage of Chile pages 6-8

audience Sept. 29 that the government "should not have been in a hurry to recognize the military junta."

Lewis said the junta had "murdered hundreds of people, perhaps thousands. They have arrested thousands more, and that is still going on."

By moving now to establish formal diplomatic relations with the generals, the Trudeau government is stating its approval of the military butchers — all in the name of "Canadian interests."

Whose interests is Sharp — himself a former vice-president of Brascan, the huge Canadian-based multinational corporation with major holdings in Brazil — out to protect? Not the interests of Canadian working people, who have no sympathy with or stake in the Chilean bloodbath. Certainly not the Chilean workers and peasants who are still facing the terror.

Rather, Sharp acts in the interests of Canadian and world imperialism, which has been working all along to undermine the Popular Unity government, seeking to establish a more "stable" regime.

Canada is clearly complicit in the international imperialist blockade of the Popular Unity government. (see article, page 7).

The Sept. 28 Le Devoir quotes three Canadian priests just returned from Chile. They report "systematic assassination" of leaders of the popular organizations. They also confirm the existence of a "death squad, like in Brazil. They were trained by the Brazilians."

see page 2

Editorial

Act now to save Chile victims lives

continued from page 1

Asked whether it is true that there have been only a few hundred deaths, as official publicity states, M. Latulippe, one of the priests, replied: "There have been many more than they would have us believe. Without exaggerating, I think that it would be more accurate to speak of thousands of deaths."

This latter point was confirmed by Newsweek magazine, whose correspondent, John Barnes, said he sneaked into the Santiago morgue and saw bodies of 270 young persons, most of whom had been shot at close range beneath the chin.

"I was able to obtain an official morgue body count from the daugher of a member of its staff," Barnes reported. "By the 14th day following the coup, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses."

That is in the city of Santiago alone! How many other murders have taken place elsewhere? How many more victims lie in unmarked graves? How many more will there be before the generals feel secure in power?

Emergency action, on a worldwide scale, is required to stay the hand of the executioners in Chile. A massive protest movement is needed, and time is of the essence, to save the lives of those who languish in Chile's prisons, concentration camps and the national stadium.

Victims of the terror include even those who have never been involved in political activity. One of the Canadian priests reports an incident near his home, where police stopped a youth on the street and found a pocket knife on his person. "Immediately, the police officer drew his revolver and shot him down. His body was dragged to the truck and thrown in . . . ."

Other victims are political refugees, who fled to Chile from the repression of dictatorships in other Latin American countries. They face prison or death if they are returned to their homelands.

But particularly singled out for imprisonment, torture or death are those working people who have taken the lead in fighting against their oppression and exploitation, and for the socialist future.

Everything possible must be done to mobilize the largest possible forces to protest the atrocities being committed by the imperialist-backed military junta. Demonstrations, protest rallies, teach-ins, etc. must be immediately launched. There is no time to be lost!

End the repression in Chile!
Free the political prisoners!
End Canadian and U.S. aid to the Chilean junta!
Open the doors to refugees!
Open the government records to let the people know the truth about Canada's role in Chile!

labor Challenge #81 Oct 1973

Ottawa's role in toppling Allende

by GEORGE ADDISON

Canada's quick recognition of the military junta in Chile was justified by External Affairs minister Sharp as serving "Canadian interests." Just whose interests are meant can be seen by the government's role in helping to destroy the Chilean economy over the past three years of Popular Unity government.

The Canadian government and big business interests are deeply implicated in the international intrigues that threw the Chilean economy into chaos, undercut the elected government and ultimately brought the generals to power.

The international plot to financially blockade Chile has been going on for some time. Best known are the attempts by International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) to prevent the election of Allende. When that attempt was unsuccessful, an ITT executive testified, his corporation, along with the giant American copper corporations Kennecott and Anaconda (whose facilities had been nationalized), and the Bank of America, met to work out a joint strategy.

U.S. representatives on international credit agencies blocked loans to the Chilean government. World Bank officials admitted in September, 1972, that no new loans had been granted to Chile since Allende's election.

Meanwhile, the copper corporations tied up Chilean copper exports with lawsuits around the world, over disputes on compensation. The drop in exports cost Chile an estimated $187 million in 1971 and 1972. Chile's foreign-exchange reserves, which totalled $335 million in November, 1970, dropped to $100 million by the end of 1971, and to only $80 million a year later. In August, 1972, Chile became the first country in the International Monetary Fund to exhaust its Special Drawing Rights completely.

The result of this economic blockade could be seen not only in shortages — such as the lack of truck parts that was an issue in the prolonged truck owners' strike — but in a galloping rate of inflation. Between May 1972 and May 1973, prices in Chile rose at a rate of 238 percent.

Canada was part of this blockade. It is a member of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The Canadian government never spoke or took any action against the blockade imposed on Chile by these financial agencies.

Canada could have helped Chile break the blockade by providing credit to the Popular Unity government. But the Export Development Corporation, a Crown corporation that provides credit to foreign purchasers buying Canadian products, cut off export credit to Chile in November, 1971. This was particularly damaging, because Canada could have been an alternative source of parts and equipment for the mining and forest industries in Chile.

Credit facilities were supposedly restored in January of this year after the signing of a bilateral treaty between Canada and Chile. But in reality, the blockade continued.

This was illustrated by Conservative MP W.B. Nesbitt, speaking in the House of Commons March 14. According to Nesbitt, a large logging equipment firm in his constituency, Timber Jack, made an agreement with the Chilean government for the sale of $4 million in equipment. All that was left was for the EDC to approve credit. But the government agency refused credit.

"I was requested by the company concerned to find out what I could concerning the failure to help in the financing of this project," Nesbitt said. "I discussed the matter with officials of the EDC and was informed that they were acting in accordance with government policy not to extend loans to Chile at present. Apparently this has been not only the policy of this government but of other governments as well. They did not specify which ones. Consequently, the order was turned down."

Meanwhile, the EDC was providing $26.5 million to Brascan for its operations in "stable" military-ruled Brazil (Mitchell

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Sharpe is a former vice-president of Brascan). One reason for Canada's quick recognition of the Chilean junta according to a government official quoted in Oct. 2 Globe and Mail, was a $5 million deal between de Havilland Aircraft of Canada and Chile's domestic airline. The deal was awaiting an EDC ruling when the Chilean coup took place. No doubt the financing will be speedily arranged now.

The EDC, while a government agency, has five representatives from business on its board of directors. Among these was the late Arthur Mayne, former president of Kennecott Canada Ltd., and a director of the Royal Bank, which has major holdings throughout Latin America. Another board member is H.A. Zimmerman, vice-president of Noranda Mines Ltd., whose Chilean subsidiary was nationalized. Another member if R.P. Sandwell, president of Sandwell and Company, which has a forest industry engineering project in Chile.

MITCHELL SHARP. External Affairs Minister is former vice-president of imperialist Brascan corporation with massive investments in South America.

Other Canadian businesses in Chile include Bata Shoes, Acres International, Atlas Exploration, British Columbia Packers and Canadian Javelin Ltd.

It was these corporations whose interests were served in Canada's speedy recognition of the military junta. These are the interests that the government promotes and protects.

As long as the Popular Unity government refused to repudiate the national debt or take serious measures against U.S., Canadian and other corporate interests, the imperialists could bide their time and build up the economic pressure. Allende could not break from the blockade except by refusing the debt, repudiating the huge compensation claims, declaring a state monopoly on foreign trade and promoting greater trade with the workers' states. There was no way out within the limits of the capitalist system that the Popular Unity government respected to the end.

Rallies say 'drop the charges'

Trial of Dr. Morgentaler begins

y LIS ANGUS

As court proceedings against Dr. enry Morgentaler began Sept. 24 in ontreal, support actions were held cross the country, part of the rowing public campaign demanng that charges against him be ropped.

Dr. Morgentaler faces 13 charges nder the abortion section of the riminal Code. If convicted, he is able to life imprisonment.

As the court opened on Monday orning, 160 people participated in spirited support picket outside the ourtroom. Later in the day, another cket line drew 200 people, inuding a contingent organized by e Ottawa committee to defend Dr. orgentaler.

Similar actions took place across anada on or around that date. In oronto, 120 supporters marched up onge St. on Sept. 22 chanting, Morgentaler, Macchabee, drop the arges, set them free" and "Hey, ey, Choquette, Trudeau, drop the harges, let them go." They athered at City Hall for a rally, ndaunted by a sudden rainstorm. The spirit of the rally was aptly mmed up by Joan Campana, coordinator of the Canadian Women's oalition to Repeal the Abortion aws, who co-chaired the rally gether with lawyer Stan German. "This is only the beginng," she said. "We need more ctions like this across the country, nd we have to build them much gger than we are here today. It's

eople like us — who are willing to and here in spite of the pouring ain, determined to build this ampaign — that are going to carry rough and win the dropping of the harges."

Actions were also held in dmonton, Vancouver and askatoon. In Edmonton, a public eeting on the University of Alberta ampus attracted 55-60 people, and rmally launched the Edmonton efense committee. In Saskatoon, a vely rally of 30-35 people picketed utside the office of Federal Justice inister Otto Lang.

In Vancouver, a Sept. 25 public eeting formed the B.C. Committee Defend Dr. Morgentaler around e demand "Defend Dr. Morgentaler — Drop the charges." Speakers at the meeting included representatives from the B.C. Civil Liberties Association, the Humanists, the Unitarian Church, the B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee, the University of British Columbia Abortion Action Committee and the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

photo by Grant Hargrave

'MORGENTALER, MACCHABEE, drop the charges, set them free!' was one chant of Sept. 22 Toronto demonstration in defense of two Montreal doctors.

Defense committees have now been established in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. They have begun the task of planning activities to publicize and expand the campaign, and to raise funds to carry these activities. The possibilities before the campaign were indicated by the experience of the Hamilton committee, which raised $400 in the first day of its existence.

The campaign is also becoming international. Members of the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign organized a picket line in England outside Canada House, calling for the charges against Dr. Morgentaler to be dropped. The Women's Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the U.S. has sent a telegram to Quebec Justice Minister Choquette, with a similar message. Members of the American Humanist Association have initiated an International Defense Committee for Dr. Morgentaler.

This mounting public support may in part be responsible for the fact that the restrictions imposed on Dr. Morgentaler when he was released from jail have now been modified. He is now free to leave Montreal, and to participate in press conferences, although he is still prohibited from speaking on abortion.

During the first week of court proceedings in Montreal, Dr. Morgentaler's lawyers presented arguments for postponing the trial and quashing the indictments, arguing that the abortion law under which he is charged is unconstitutional. Ruling must be made on these attempts to delay the proceedings before a further schedule for the trial will be announced.

Defense lawyers have managed to win severance of the charges — meaning that Dr. Morgentaler will be tried on each charge separately, rather than on the charges grouped together — and the right to a French-speaking jury, which they feel would tend to be less prejudiced against the case.

But it is not the events inside the courtroom which will be decisive in this case, but those outside: a broad public defense campaign which can mobilize mass pressure to force the Quebec Justice department to drop the charges against Dr. Morgentaler.

labor Challenge #8? Oct 1973

What demands best defend Morgentaler?

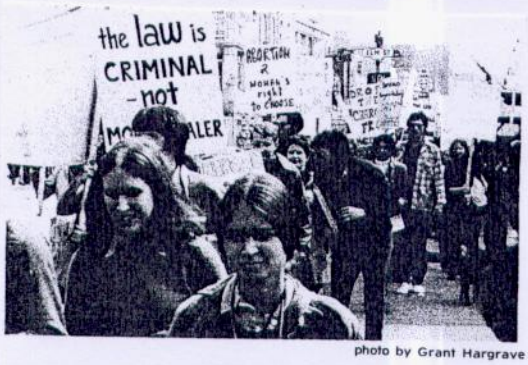

photo by Grant Hargrave

MASS ACTION on single slogan Drop the Charges, is best way to build defense of Dr. Morgentaler.

by LIS ANGUS

What kind of campaign can best defend Dr. Morgentaler?

This question arises with the formation of defense committees across the country. It is most clearly posed in differences on the slogans of the campaign.

Everyone seems to agree that the central demand of the campaign should be to drop the charges against Dr. Morgentaler. But some people within the campaign have proposed additional demands which they feel the defense committees should adopt: in particular, the demand to repeal the abortion laws.

In the Montreal French-speaking defense committee, strong pressures for additional demands led to the adoption by the founding meeting of both "repeal" and "free abortion and contraception on demand," as well as "drop the charges." Similar pressures exist within the Ottawa committee.

What is at stake in this discussion?

It is clear that the defense of Dr. Morgentaler is closely related to the abortion rights struggle — in fact, he is being victimized primarily because of his part in that struggle. Certainly, if Dr. Morgentaler is convicted, it would be a terrible setback for the repeal campaign; and conversely, if he is successful — with the help of a Canada-wide public defense campaign — in turning back this attack by the Quebec courts, that victory will greatly undermine the Canadian abortion laws.

But to conclude therefore that the defense campaign should also call for repeal of the abortion laws, is to make a serious misjudgement as to the tasks and character of the defense campaign.

The main purpose of the defense campaign is to prevent the Quebec courts from convicting and sentencing Dr. Morgentaler (or other victims of the laws, such as Dr. Yvan Macchabee, who faces similar charges). The campaign's demands must express this clear political focus.

Those who argue in favor of adding the repeal demand seem to do so from two points of view: first, that the only way to get the charges dropped is to repeal the law; or second, that there is not much chance of achieving either so we may as well call for everything while we're at it.

Both these viewpoints suffer from a common error — underestimation of the power of a mass campaign to affect the course of this case.

The courts do not rule in isolation from the political life of Canada. They are the political instruments of the state — and operate in accordance with the relationship of class forces in society. They are affected by the same political factors that motivate the government to legislate either reforms or repressive measures relative to the strenth or weakness of the masses.

Moreover, the trial of Dr. Morgentaler is a political trial, and it is on the political level that the outcome of the case will ultimately be decided.

It is not true that the charges cannot be dropped before the anti-abortion laws are repealed. A mass public campaign in Dr. Morgentaler's defense could make it more costly for the government to proceed with the prosecution than to halt it. In that case, the Justice department would decide to drop the charges.

This is what happened to most of the charges laid under the War Measures Act of 1970. There, due to mass public sentiment (particularly in Quebec) spearheaded by a defense campaign, the government found itself unable to proceed with prosecution of most of those arrested. The overwhelming majority of those arrested were never charged. And charges were subsequently dropped or suspended against most of those accused even though the government had the War Measures Act and its replacement, the Public Order Act, on which to base its prosecutions.

To build the broadest possible support for the Morgentaler defense campaign, its demands must be clear and simple, stating clearly what the goal of the campaign is, and placing no additional conditions on what people must agree with to join the campaign.

So far, the campaign is still relatively narrow. It has mobilized support only from within sections of the repeal movement. But that is its weakness, not its strength. Every attempt should be made to gain support and active participation from those forces still outside the repeal movement — for example, those who call for reform of the laws, or those who have not yet taken a stand on the laws.

But the main question is not the composition, but the focus of the campaign. Experience shows that the most effective campaign — the one that can unite the broadest forces — is one centered on a single issue and built around clear, easily-understood demands.

This is not a campaign of moral solidarity. It must be a campaign of **action**, with a specified goal.

A victory for Dr. Morgentaler will objectively advance the movement for repeal, by making it more difficult for the government to enforce its repressive anti-women laws.

Thus, defense of Dr. Morgentaler, built around the demand "Drop the Charges," is top priority for abortion repeal activists today. Not only the fate of a courageous doctor, but in many ways the future of the abortion rights movement, rest on the success of this defense campaign.

It must be as effective and forceful a campaign as we can make it.

labor Challenge #87 Oct 1973

B.C. unionists fight gov't threat to union shop

by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER Sept. 26 — "You must understand that we are your government and intend to represent you on the basis of your interests," B.C. NDP Premier Dave Barrett told the 27th constitutional convention of the International Woodworkers of American (IWA) at the Hotel Vancouver on Monday.

B.C. LABOR MOVEMENT fought Socred antilabor legislation as in this June 1972 demonstration. Barrett NDP government, which delayed repeal of Socred legislation, now proposes bill which threatens union shop.

Barrett was appealing for support to the NDP government's new labor legislation due to be presented shortly.

In his speech to the IWA convention Barrett declined to give any details of the new legislation.

But while Barrett was making his address downtown, 200 staff members of the labor movement were meeting at the IWA headquarters across town, to discuss a campaign against one aspect of the legislation reported in the Sept. 13 throne speech.

According to the throne speech, the new legislation will "recognize the sanctity of individual religious beliefs." In other words, it will allow workers to opt out of unions on religious grounds.

Addressing the labor leaders, Ray Haynes, secretary-treasurer of the B.C. Federation of Labor expressed "great concern over the reference in the throne speech to religious people being allowed to opt out of the union . . . We are strongly opposed to any watering down of the union shop provisions because the union shop is the backbone of the labor movement."

The meeting decided to send a hundred unionists to Victoria the following day, under the leadership of the Federation, to "try to convince the MLA's not to tamper with the union shop."

Meanwhile, at the IWA convention in the Hotel Vancouver, the "opt out" legislation came under severe attack from Father Dermot McInerney of St. Andrew's Catholic Church who was delivering the invocation.

He termed money given to the church by workers who don't want to pay union dues "not charitable donations but scab money" and condemned the legislation for encouraging workers to scab "on their obligations."

Following the Sept. 25 lobby by the federation, Barrett criticized the unionists for demonstrating against the bill before it was introduced. When the legislation comes down he said "the trade union council will be unhappy, the employers will be unhappy — everybody but the people will be unhappy". He stated the "opt out" clause would use the "Rand formula" requiring workers to pay dues but not join the union.

In reply to this, federation president George Johnson said that if the "Rand formula" becomes law it will be "an open invitation for people to get out of unions." Haynes added that the Federation would take action against any legislation eroding the closed shop principle.

Since its election last year, the failure of the NDP government to repeal the existing antilabor laws has been a heated issue between the B.C. labor movement and the government. The B.C. NDP provincial council has twice demanded that the government implement NDP policy on this. Last year a rank and file committee of lower mainland NDPers called the Ad Hoc Committee for Repeal of Antilabor Legislation was formed to put pressure on the government to repeal the laws.

The committee is currently circulating a statement entitled "Take the Shackles off Labor." It details →P.2

the record of the government and demands an end to all government interference in the affairs of the unions, all restrictions in any form on the right to strike for any group of workers, all picketing restrictions and the use of the courts against the unions — in short "the repeal of all antilabor legislation expressed under the Trades Union Act, the Labor Relations Act and the Mediation Commission Act."

The statement warns that new legislation must "in no way" infringe on these basic rights, and concludes by advising against reliance on "government boards, judges, commissions, task forces, ministries or government ministers or any part of the governmental machinery," pointing to the necessity to mobilize the party and the union movement "to ensure that all such legislation is repealed and any attempt to maintain such legislation blocked."

NDP left organizes

Antilabor legislation is not the only issue around which NDP supporters are organizing. On Sept. 8, a demonstration of 35 women's groups, including the B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee, confronted Barrett in Vancouver, demanding action on women's rights.

A Sept. 20 meeting of the Vancouver Little Mountain NDP riding association demanded nationalization of the forest industry. The Sept. 22-23 conference of the regional council of the Vancouver Island NDP called for nationalization of the Island railway, owned by the CPR.

A call to "Organize for the November B.C. NDP Convention," is being circulated throughout the NDP. The call condemns the government for failing to implement "party policy of a socialist character adopted by the delegated conventions of the NDP. . . .

"The government cannot have it both ways," the call states. "It cannot represent everyone. The interests of the corporate elite that rule this province are not the interests of the majority — the working people and farmers of B.C. The NDP leadership, the cabinet and the legislature have the responsibility to take the side of the majority against the corporate minority . . . Now is the time for the rank anf file of the NDP, no matter what their differences, to unite around a common platform of demands and coordinate their efforts at the Nov. 10-12 convention in Vancouver."

The statement of the Ad Hoc Committee for Repeal of Antilabor Legislation can be obtained from Joe Killoran, c/ o Burrard NDP, 1520 6th Ave., Vancouver, B.C. Copies of the call to organize can be obtained from Roger Ward (Vancouver Center) 1122 Comox, Vancouver 5, B.C.

dvertisement

The socialist alternative

Young Socialists

League for Socialist Action

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labor Challenge #81 Oct 1973

Socialists enter Que. election

Leger takes on Bourassa

Quebec finds itself in the midst of a major crisis: the government has links with organized crime; police-club laws and injunctions are used to break strikes; doctors who perform safe abortions are arrested and hit with heavy penalties and the students at the University of Quebec who cannot pay their fees are expelled.

Together with the anglicization of the Quebecois at school and at work, the pillage of the economy and our natural resources, the domestic slavery of Quebec women, the unbridled inflation of food prices, unemployment, superexploitation of the workers and small farmers, these inflictions ravaging Quebec accurately characterize the Bourassa government.

Bourassa and the Liberals must be thrown out of power! But the other major political parties, the Union Nationale, the Creditistes and the Parti Quebecois, do not offer a real alternative: their programs are each equally committed to maintaining the power and the privileges of the millionaires, above all, those in English Canada and the United States. Each of their programs offers nothing to ordinary people, that is, to the workers and the oppressed. None of these parties propose a solution to the crisis which reigns in Quebec.

The program of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere expresses the interests of the working and oppressed masses, and proposes a radical solution to the burning problems which preoccupy the vast majority of Quebecois.

These are the opening words of the election manifesto of the LSO, the Quebec Trotskyist organization. The manifesto contains an extended analysis of the problems of Quebec society today, and the socialist solutions. Labor Challenge presents below some of the main programmatic demands contained in the manifesto.

FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF QUEBEC AND NATIONAL EMANCIPATION

For national independence by a thorough going explusion of imperialism: its army, monetary and tariff systems, and its military alliances (NATO, NORAD, etc.)!

For French unilingualism; all state-subsidized schools to be French; all compulsory school taxes to be in French; withdraw Law 63 (codifying English privileges in the school system); for French as the language of work!

For the expropriation of all foreign monopolies, under workers control; for the nationalization of the banks; for the planning of the economy in the interest of the Quebecois masses, aiming at an industrial development capable of eliminating regional disparities, unemployment, etc!

For the separation of Church and State; for the secularization of the school system, the hospitals, etc; for the expropriation of the Catholic Church's wealth to finance the massive construction of low-priced housing!

End political repression in Quebec! Free all political prisoners, withdraw (the police-state) Law 51!

Solidarity with the liberation struggle of the other oppressed peoples of the world, such as the heroic struggle of the Chilean, Cambodian, Irish and Vietnamese masses!

Self-determination for the Indians in Quebec, up to the right to form an independent state; for total control by the Indians of the reserves and the other territories they inhabit; no to the James Bay project!

FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Full political and social equality for women: against all laws which discriminate against women; against the exclusion of women from public places (e.g. taverns)!

Withdraw the charges against Drs. Morgentaler and Macchabee; for the repeal of the abortion laws; keep abortion covered under Medicare; for sex education and contraception available to all!

Equal pay for equal work; end discrimination against women at work and their restriction to the most servile and poorest-paying jobs; for maternity leave without loss of salary!

Equal opportunities for women in the school system; end the restriction of women to domestic, secretarial and teachers' courses; preferential admission for women into all courses from which they are traditionally excluded!

For free child care centers, financed by the state and controlled by those who use them, open 24 hours a day; for the socialization of the other domestic services which are imposed on women (laundry, preparation of meals, housework, etc.), subsidized by the state!

What really happened during War Measures crisis? pages 10-11

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QUEBEC POLICE HARASS striking hospital workers. Bourassa promises to outlaw public sector strikes if elected while LSO unconditionally defends all workers' right to strike.

"This will be a filthy campaign" said Liberal party campaign director Paul Desrochers. At the same time, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa launched his effort to win reelection Oct. 29 with a bitter attack on the labor movement.

He declared that if his party wins, it will pass new harsh antilabor measures forbidding strikes in sectors designated as "essential services." Among the first to lose their hard-won freedoms would be thousands of Quebec hospital workers, he stated Sept. 29.

The Parti Quebecois has run a rather low-key campaign to date. Apparently trying to convey an aura of calm respectability, it has announced that a number of important figures from previous Liberal and Union Nationale administrations will be running under its banner: Dr. Robert Lussier, a former cabinet minister; Claude Morin, a former deputy minister; Yves Michaud, a former Liberal MNA; and Abbe Louis O'Neil, a top academic.

The PQ hopes to profit from the fact that it can present itself as the only major alternative to the scandal-ridden Bourassa regime. There is no other mass formation calling for independence; there is no labor party in the running.

Manon Leger

The call for the establishment of such a party is at the center of the program of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, whose candidate is 26-year old Manon Leger, running against Bourassa in his own riding of Mercier/ Montreal.

In 1970 Leger was the LSO's candidate against Jean Drapeau, mayor of Montreal. The chief issue in that campaign was the War Measures Act, declared during the election, and the subsequent police raids and arrests. Leger campaigned virorously in the face of extreme repression (other candidates had been jailed, as were two members of her campaign committee), and was arrested herself. She won over 7,000 votes and a broad response to her call to organize against the repression.

In this campaign, Leger will defend unconditionally labor's rights to organize and to strike. In addition, the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler "will be an important aspect of the campaign" stated the LSO in announcing the candidacy on Sept. 26.

The campaign will also serve "to help build a movement to defend the democratic rights of the Chilean masses."

On Oct. 4, the candidate was one of two partisans of the right to abortion in a televised debate with two anti-abortion spokespersons.

Leger will be speaking on Montreal campuses, where her campaign will be actively supported by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/ Young Socialists.

P. 2

END UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

Reduce the work week without reducing pay, so as to divide the existing work among all workers including those thrown onto the streets by automation and capitalist rationalization; 40 hours pay for 30 hours work!

Nationalize under workers control factories which shut down; for a vast program of public works to create jobs and furnish essential services!

Priority in hiring to women, youth, and unilingual Francophones!

In every collective agreement, a sliding scale of wages tied to the rise in the cost of living; for an automatic rise in pension, welfare, and unemployment insurance payments with inflation; open the books of all the corporations!

Nationalize the big corporations and the food chains under workers control!

Trade union freedom; no control over wages nor restrictions on the right to strike; withdraw the (antilabor) Law 19; grant full strike rights to the public and para-public sector workers; against the scabs and strikebreakers!

THE PARTI QUEBECOIS

The Quebec unions must break with the politics and the parties of the bourgeoisie, including the PQ. They must become the instruments of workers' struggle, able to fight for the application of their program.

In no case can the confidence that most union leaders today express in the PQ do anything else but disarm the workers and the oppressed, put them in the tow of the class enemy and ensure the defeat of the workers . . .

So that the Quebec workers movement can undertake the struggle for independence and socialism, and arm itself politically to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers of the entire world and especially with those in English Canada who face the same oppressive capitalist state in Ottawa, the LSO proposes the following measures:

Create a labor party, opposed to all bourgeois parties; a party which will not limit itself to elections, but which will participate in and strengthen all mass struggles. A party that will defend the interests of the oppressed in the National Assembly and on all levels of national life!

We submit the above program for the consideration and adoption of such a class party.

VOTE LSO! VOTE MANON LEGER!

The LSO program also includes a set of demands for the student movement, including free tuition and textbooks; a student salary; freedom of association and organization for students, support

→p. 3

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staff and faculty; cops off the campus; student-faculty-support staff control over all educational institutions.

It concludes in the following terms:

The LSO election campaign does not aim to replace such a political organization of the mass of workers, but rather to hasten the necessary transformation of the unions by showing them the way forward, and to provide a genuine alternative to all the bourgeois parties in at least one riding. In the absence of such a mass workers' party, able to present a class choice in all Quebec ridings, we appeal to those in the labor movement who are already convinced of the necessity of political class action by the unions, and who oppose the capitalist parties, to also present working-class and socialist candidates in this election . . . .

The labor movement has the necessary objective power to overturn capitalist domination, to sweep away the garbage and the corruption that it has produced and open the road to the liberation of humanity. The labor movement has shown, particularly in the strikes of Spring 1972, its great combativity and an innate inclination to put into question the present order.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere has the action program which can consciously guide the labor movement on the road to the taking of power and the overthrow of capitalism. Only the program of the LSO, among all the political groups in Quebec, proposes a real solution to the crisis of capitalism.

It is with the goal of advancing this program and of linking the objective power and the combativity of the labor movement to the goal of independence and socialism, that the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere is running in these elections. In the riding of Mercier/ Montreal, vote for Manon Leger!

In Brief

CHARTRAND TO SPEAK AT TORONTO CHILE MEETING

The Toronto Chile Solidarity Committee has called a public rally against the repression in Chile, to be held Oct. 18. Among the scheduled speakers are Montreal union leader Michel Chartrand and NDP Nickel Belt MP John Rodriguez. For further information, write: Chile Solidarity Committee, Box 31, Postal Station Q, Toronto.

NATIVE YOUTH LEADERS ADDRESS FORUMS

"We never once believed that the issues at stake would all be settled by our occupation," Arthur Manuel told the Vanguard Forum in Ottawa, Sept. 21. "But we achieved our aim to create awareness of the native peoples' problems."

Manuel, president of the Native Youth Association (NYA), spoke to the issues raised by the Aug. 30 occupation of the Indian Affairs Department offices by native youth. The action was designed to dramatize native opposition to the James Bay project, refusals to recognize native land claims in British Columbia, and constant government harassment of native youth by the youth liaison specialist program. To preserve their independence from such harassment, the NYA has refused to accept any government funding.

At a Toronto Vanguard Forum on Sept. 28, Manuel was joined on the platform by Wayne Stonechild of the Saskatchewan Native Youth Association, speaking on some of the major issues before the native movement.

Vanguard Forums are held at 8:00 every Friday evening, in Ottawa at 418 Somerset W.; in Toronto at 334 Queen St. W.; in Edmonton at 10518, 82nd Ave.; and in Vancouver at 1208 Granville.

GAYS DEMAND CIVIL RIGHTS

Gay organizations in both B.C. and Ontario recently presented demands to the respective Labor ministers, that the Human Rights Acts of both provinces include protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation. Such discrimination is widespread in employment and housing.

In B.C. the Gay Alliance toward Equality held a second unsuccessful meeting with Labor Minister William King. Maurice Flood, spokesman for the group, explained afterwards that King had refused to consider specific civil rights provisions for homosexuals. "His arguments are infused with social prejudice," Flood said.

In Ontario a coalition of gay organizations submitted their demands in a brief to Labor Minister Guindon.

labor Challenge

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#87 Oct 1973

New facts point to provocation

What really caused 'FLQ crisis'?

CLAUDE LARIVIERE. What was his real role?

CANADIAN ARMY occupied Quebec in October 1970 to enforce War Measures Act which struck at Quebec independence and labor movements.

New revelations further discredit government's actions in "October Crisis."

REPEAL WAR MEASURES ACT NOW. Demonstrations like this played important role in freeing political prisoners interned under act.

What really caused FLQ crisis?

New facts point to provocation

(*from Labor Challenge, October 1973)*

by Art Young

The author of this article was the editor of the Quebec Trotskyist newspaper La Lutte Ouvrière (Worker's Struggle) *in October 1970. He was jailed for a week under the War Measures Act without charges.*

Did the government know that terrorists were planning to kidnap political figures; did it decide not to prevent the kidnappings, but to egg them on in the hope of delivering a mortal blow against the Quebec nationalist movement?

On the third anniversary of the War Measures Act, these and other questions have now been posed. Important evidence has now come to light which points to the possibility that: •the government knew the kidnappings might occur but did not act to stop them; •two persons who played key roles in the FLQ actions may have been police agents provocateurs; •the authorities knew where Laporte was being held and who was holding him, but did not act to find them.

In addition, it is a virtual certainty that the government's story as to how Laporte died is untrue.

The official government explanation of the crisis of October 1970 has been shattered by a series of revelations which have appeared in the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* and the *Toronto Star,* but which so far have received very little publicity elsewhere.

The revelations prompted *Le Devoir* to editorialize on Aug. 11: "In reality we no longer know for certain who in this macabre affair are the villains. One can wonder ... if some of the accused 'villains' were not in fact 'agents provocateurs.' . . .The elements that *(Toronto Star)* reporters McKenzie and Lebel have assembled, in raising the possibility of police infiltration (of the kidnapping plot) from the beginning, lead one to wonder if some of the FLQers were not clearly manipulated by colleagues who were on the police payroll."

AGENTS PROVOCATEURS?'

The suspicion of provocation seems well-founded. On Aug. 30, the *Star* revealed that two key figures in the FLQ were former police agents: Claude Larivière and Jean-Andre Prieur.

The *Star* reports that Larivière and Prieur "both admit playing crucial coordinating roles in the FLQ. Since their release from prison they have invested thousands of dollars." Their conduct in the crisis had already caused many on the Quebec left to wonder aloud about their relations with the police.

Larivière confirmed, in an interview with *Le Devoir,* that he played a key role during

the 1970 crisis by handling communications between the two FLQ cells, by finding hideouts for the Rose brothers and Simard, and by providing financial and material aid for various cells.

Prieur played a similar, though somewhat lesser role in furnishing essential material support to the FLQers. He was the chief artisan of the FLQ system of financing through phony credit cards. He also forged false identity papers. As the person relaying messages between the two cells, which were underground, Larivière was in a position to heavily influence all vital decisions.

When he was arrested, Larivière gave the police a 50-page document on his FLQ activity. This document was never produced during any of the FLQ trials. "He gives the clear impression of having in fact been aware on a day-to-day basis of everything that happened in the FLQ during the October crisis" stated the *Le Devoir* journalist who interviewed him. Yet Larivière was never called upon to testify during any of these trials. He pleaded guilty to charges of complicity in the kidnapping and murder of Laporte. Despite his central role, he was sentenced to only two years, and served less than one year, receiving a rapid parole. He was recently granted $10,000 by the federal Arts Council.

Larivière's political past is checkered: he has been in a wide range of different movements. Early in 1970, while an official of the Parti Québécois, he wrote to Premier Bourassa, congratulating. him on the Liberal party victory in the provincial elections: "Quebec could not make a better choice under the circumstances."

PQ leader René Lévesque, said on Aug. 23 that there is proof that Lariviére had infiltrated the PQ and labor unions.

Larivière had conducted the Rose brothers and François Simard to a farmhouse in St-Luc. The three fugitives were being hunted by municipal and provincial police, the RCMP and the army following the death of Laporte. Larivière insisted that the three cross the border into the U.S., where, he said, a group of Black revolutionaries would look after them. He claimed that the proposal came from the FLQ cell holding Cross.

But despite Larivière's insistence, the three hunted men refused his plan, suspecting a trap. Lariviére left.

TESTIMONY OF MME. PRIEUR

Soon after, Prieur turned up at the farm. "It is not clear how he knew the fugitives were hidden there. He no sooner arrived than he demanded to know why the fugitives refused to flee to the U.S.

(By a coincidence, Mme. Prieur, who had separated from her husband, was living with a friend at the farmhouse where Larivière had hidden the three FLQers. After overcoming her initial surprise at her ex-husband's unexpected arrival, she began to wonder how he

knew what their answer to Larivière's proposal had been. And why, she asks, was he also so insistent that they accept?)

But the three continued to refuse, although Prieur offered to take them across the border himself. He then asked his ex-wife to find some way to put them to sleep, so he could spirit them away against their will. She was terrified by her ex-husband's actions, she reported. She had a clear impression he knew a lot about what was happening. "He spoke about the possibility that the whole business might wind up in a huge shoot-out."

She reported that "the Rose brothers and Simard appeared terrified of being killed in a shootout and gave the impression they suspected several FLQ sympathizers actually were double .agents planted by the police." Her opinion is that the three were grossly manipulated in this whole affair, and that well before their arrest they became aware of the fact.

Mme. Prieur said she at first did not believe that the Rose brothers and Simard, whom she had known for a long lime, were really involved in the Laporte kidnapping. Too many people knew "that they were playing at making a revolution and at being FLQers for it to seem logical to us that people who were so un-secretive could put together such an affair .... They had told us so often that they were FLQers that we no longer believed them."

The three FLQers may not have been able to carry off such an affair by themselves. But then they had the aid of Larivière and Prieur, who seemed, according to reports, to be able to find considerable sums of money, false identity papers, cars and hideouts for them. Did this help make the whole affair possible?

Were Prieur and Larivière agents provacateurs? Did they, on governmental instruction, egg the FLQers on and provide the necessary aid to make the kidnappings possible? Both of them deny the charge, but the questions remain. f the answer is affirmative, it means that Trudeau and Bourassa plotted to create the FLQ crisis.

Marxists have always opposed terrorism. It is devoid of political content and independent of mass struggles. Terrorism hands the authorities a "legitimate" pretext to repress the entire left, and it lends credence to the ruling class myth that it is those who want to change society who are responsible for violence. It is no accident that the most common tactic of police agents infiltrating the radical movement is to advocate terroristic acts. They are well aware of the non-revolutionary consequences of such acts.

Many recent examples could be cited. The *New York Times* on May 23 exposed Larry Grantwohl as an agent provocateur who had worked in the Weatherman, a small terrorist group. He taught other members of the group how to make bombs, and organized bombings (including at least one police station and a public school). He operated in many different cities.

Within the group, he was an advocate of violence: "True revolutionaries have to be ready and anxious to kill people", he would say.

During all these activities, he was in close touch with a top U.S. Justice Dept. official who was in charge of witchhunting the left. He was exposed after he set up Weathermen for government prosecution.

'AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO ACT'

The federal cabinet had, months earlier, given some thought as to how to discredit the independentist movement and the possibility of an FLQ-style crisis in Quebec. On April 29, the Parti Québécois scored an impressive 24 percent of the popular vote in the provincial elections. Within one week, the cabinet had established a committee to consider among other things "steps to be taken in the event the War Measures Act comes into force by reason of insurrection."

Ottawa was clearly thinking that something needed to be done to weaken the Quebec independentist movement; and that the discovery of a violent, "apprehended insurrection" by Quebec nationalists would serve their ends.

If in fact the government wanted to precipitate a kidnappings-crisis, it would explain another curious fact: the semblance of utter ineptitude on the part of the police.

The kidnappings could hardly have come as a surprise to the authorities. From the beginning of 1970, rumors were rife in the Quebec left that a political kidnapping would occur. The police were certainly aware of these rumors.

By early March, the police had discovered that Jacques Lanctôt, later a participant in the kidnapping of James Cross, was planning a kidnapping of the Israeli consul. Then on June 21, three persons including Lanctôt's brother were arrested and charged with plotting to kidnap the U.S. consul. The documents the police found in these raids were identical to the FLQ statements issued during the Cross-Laporte kidnappings.

The police surely knew that the rumors of a kidnapping had material substance. They could have even speculated on the likely participants in such an action. Jacques Rose, who was a close associate of Lanctôt, had been under intensive police surveillance in the earlier part of 1970.

FLQ CRISIS: GOVERNMENT PLOT?

Even after Laporte was kidnapped, the authorities refused to act. "Within hours of the kidnapping of Pierre Laporte on Oct. 10, 1970, police had gathered evidence pointing to radical separatist Paul Rose as a key suspect, but political authorities ordered a delay in his arrest" reported the *Star* July 30. "Senior police officers, municipal officials and other sources disclosed in separate interviews that Quebec Provincial Police were in a position to pick Rose up and surround the kidnappers probable hideout several days before the Quebec Labor minister was found murdered on Oct. 17. Several persons connected with

the case have told the *Star* that an order not to arrest Rose at the time came from the provincial cabinet level."

A Montreal police informant told the *Star. t*hat the cops had watched Rose closely for two years, and knew of the house on Armstrong St. where Laporte was held four months before October. Rose had rented it in the

=====Box 1======
Photo caption – CANADIAN ARMY occupied Quebec in October 1970 to enforce War Measures Act which struck at Quebec independence and labor movements.
=====close box =====

spring of 1970 and had lived there while under police surveillance, inviting friends to visit him there. "Those guys were very well known to the local police" a municipal councillor from the area told the *Star.*

In its September issue, the radical (Montreal) magazine *Last Post* states that "at least three high-ranking police officers knew where Laporte was being held." René Lévesque also said Aug. 23 that he believes that "police knew for some time of the Armstrong St. house" where Mr. Laporte was kept."

And yet, the Armstrong St. house was not the object of one of the 5,000 raids the cops carried out in October.

The evidence indicates that the police were instructed not to pick up the kidnappers and not to find Laporte. Trudeau had every reason to want to prolong the crisis in order to maximize the damage he could do to the Quebec labor and nationalist movements. Laporte's death would fit into such a plan: federalist propaganda could then tie the left not only to violence, but also to murder.

HOW DID LAPORTE DIE?

Bourassa may not have been too anxious to rescue Laporte for another reason: "The revelation that police suspected ... Laporte of serious links with the world of organized crime throws an entirely new light on the crisis of Oct. 1970. To what extent did this fact — unknown to the Canadian public at the time — influence the decisions of the federal and Quebec governments after Laporte was kidnapped by the FLQ?" asked the *Star* Aug. 14.

Police reports indicated that Laporte's Liberal leadership and election campaigns had been heavily financed by organized crime. The RCMP alone, according to *Le Devoir,* had 18 top secret reports describing Laporte's relations with racketeers during the year prior to October 1970.

Laporte, the second most powerful man in the Quebec Liberal party, was widely expected to become Justice minister after the Liberals' victory. The criminals, the police

report, "felt that they would be able to get favors from Laporte if the Liberals won. They were hoping a lot that Laporte would become minister of Justice."

Bourassa, aware of the reports, named Laporte to the Labor portfolio. But, a central figure in the administration, Laporte remained (while alive) a potential walking Watergate.

As *Star* reporter Robert McKenzie put it, "If Laporte were alive today, the revelations of his relations with leaders of the Montreal underworld would have shaken Premier Robert Bourassa's government to its foundations. Since Bourassa's provincial Liberal party is the main bulwark against the separatist Parti Québécois, it is not exaggerated to suggest that Canadian federalism itself was imperiled."

Of course, if he were dead, Laporte could be transformed into a national martyr. "It is no doubt cruel to suggest that any of this may have influenced government decision-making during the week in which Laporte was a hostage of the FLQ. But is it unthinkable?" asks McKenzie. "After all, both the federal and Quebec governments admit that Laporte's life, and that of Cross, were risked for reasons of state."

What is clear is that Laporte's last public act was to write a letter to Bourassa in which he desperately pleaded for an end to police raids. The response was the invocation of the War Measures Act. Within days, Laporte was dead.

BOURASSA AND THE UNDERWORLD

And how exactly did Laporte die? The government's story as presented in court, is that the abductors strangled him in cold blood. But there are huge contradictions in this story. Paul Rose was convicted of Laporte's murder; yet several different persons have testified that he was in hiding elsewhere, and not present when Laporte died. The *Star* stated Aug. 2 that the evidence in different trials, plus its own reporters' findings show that several of those who kidnapped Laporte may not have been in any way involved in his death.

In its Aug. 11 editorial, *Le Devoir*says that "We do not yet know how Pierre Laporte died, we know less than ever about it . …"

The same editorial raises the question of motive: "In fact it would appear that the FLQers who kidnapped Mr. Laporte wanted mainly to force him to sign some compromising confessions .... After the reading on TV of the FLQ's manifesto, one can imagine the impact that the speech of a Liberal minister enumerating his crimes would have had. People who had worked out such a plan had no reason to kill Mr. Laporte. And so a new question is posed: what really happened?"

Laporte certainly had some things to confess. In this connection, it is interesting that the first person to enter the Armstrong Street hideout with the police was Paul Desrochers, Bourassa's right-hand man. The newspapers report that his mission was to look for and remove any documents that might compromise Laporte or Bourassa.

But if the government's explanation of Laporte's death now appears highly improbable, another explanation would accord with all the facts known to date: Laporte's death was an accident. *Quebec-Presse,* the trade-union weekly, has suggested that Laporte, already wounded in one escape attempt, died accidentally during a struggle trying to flee his captors again. The paper reports that Paul Rose has said that this explanation is "on the right track."

INQUIRY NEEDED

What is the truth behind the crisis of October 1970? Did police **agents provocateurs** play the key roles in bringing on the crisis? Were the police told not to find Laporte?

The entire crisis is shrouded in mystery. But sufficient material has come to light, even though it is of a partial and limited character, to indicate that the main truths still lie locked away in the government's files. The Canadian people have the right to know the truth! Above all the main victims of the War Measures Act, the Québécois who were jailed, whose homes were raided simply because they were nationalists or union militants, have a right to the full story!

After pointing out that the federal government and the cops have every interest in keeping the truth hidden, *Le Devoir* called for a full inquiry "The stakes are such, however, that every attempt must be made to completely lift the curtain on this affair."

Joining the demand for a commission of inquiry are the *Toronto Star* and the Montreal Société St-Jean Baptiste. Such an inquiry must be fully public. The Larivière "confession" and all other police and government documents relating in any way to the crisis must be published, along with all the communications during the crisis between Ottawa, Quebec City, Washington and London. The inquiry should be fully financed by the state, and possess full investigatory powers.

The commissioners must be chosen from among the victims of the War Measures Act: the imprisoned, the labor movement, the Parti Québécois and independent nationalists. Only then can the truth really be uncovered in this murky but vitally important affair.

CHILE: Three who escaped -page 10

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End U.S., Canadian aid to Israeli aggression

Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. Zionist occupation of Arab lands is root of Mideast crisis.

by THE EDITORS

OCT. 16 — From the contradictory news reports and conflicting battlefield claims on the Mideast war, one thing is very clear. Unlike the 1967 war, where Israeli blitzkreig attacks quickly devastated the Arab armies, this time the Israeli armed forces are showing their "invincibility" to be a myth.

That Israeli forces are in trouble is shown by the moves officially admitted yesterday by the United States to rush arms to Israel. Observers report that one planeload of arms every 15 minutes is stopping at a joint U.S.-Portuguese air base in the Azores for fuel en route from the U.S. to Israel. Other military shipments from American bases in Europe are being rushed to the Mideast.

The U.S. government admits that it is airlifting equipment including heavy tanks, F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers and A-4 Skyhawk fighters.

Meanwhile, the United States is preparing for possible direct intervention. While handing out

Behind Israeli aggression — page 5

Vietnam war medals Oct. 15, U.S. president Nixon described U.S. policy in the Mideast as "like the policy we followed in 1958 when Lebanon was involved." In that year, the U.S. sent troops into Lebanon to save the regime, from being overthrown.

Two thousand marines were sent today to the Mediterranean to beef up the U.S. Sixth Fleet, which is already on alert for possible Mideast action.

Ten Arab countries, with limited military aid from →

the Soviet Union, face Israel on two fronts. Israel is being backed to the hilt by the imperialist powers, particularly the United States. But others are rushing to its defense. Canadian External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp taking a stand in favor of Israel's claims, declared Oct. 15 that Israel has "the right" to "secure and recognizable boundaries," and offered Canadian participation in a "peacekeeping" role in the Mideast. Any Canadian participation in a "peacekeeping" operation could only serve the interest of world imperialism, by stabilizing the status quo in Israel's favor.

Whoever fired the first shot is irrelevant to understanding the real nature of the war. What is relevant is the cause of the war — that is, the

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Editorial

...Zionist state a trap for Jews

continued from page 1

existence of Israel, a colonial-settler state, built up and maintained by imperialism as a bulwark against social unrest and revolution in the Arab world.

The major issue is the struggle to reclaim the homeland of the Palestinian People, who were displaced and hounded out of their country by the Zionists in establishing the Israeli state. It is the Palestinians, not the Israelis, who are being denied their democratic right of self-determination. Their just demands are being ignored by all sides. Today 1.3 million of them live in wretched conditions in refugee camps.

Charges of Arab "aggression" are pure hypocrisy. The Arab countries have been forced to take military action in their own defense. One of Israel's main aims has been to push back attempts of the Arab peoples to attain national liberation. To achieve this, Israel has carried on a permanent campaign of military aggression and terrorism with the complete support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers who benefit from the exploitation of the Arab masses.

The Zionists maintain that the state of Israel is necessary to provide a safe refuge for world Jewry. This illusion is shared by many liberals and radicals. But in fact the creation of the Israeli state is a trap for the Jews, bringing about a situation of permanent war in the Mideast. Only by breaking with Zionism and joining with the Arab masses in a common struggle against Zionism and imperialist domination of the Mideast can the Jewish masses escape this trap.

Emergency actions — teach-ins, rallies, picket lines and demonstrations — should now be launched to mobilize opposition to any and all forms of imperialist intervention in the Mideast war. The lessons of the Vietnam war should be called on to explain to Canadians why they should defend the right of self-determination of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

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Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
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Roots of the Mideast conflict

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES. More than 1.3 million live in such camps, dispossessed by Zionist Israel.

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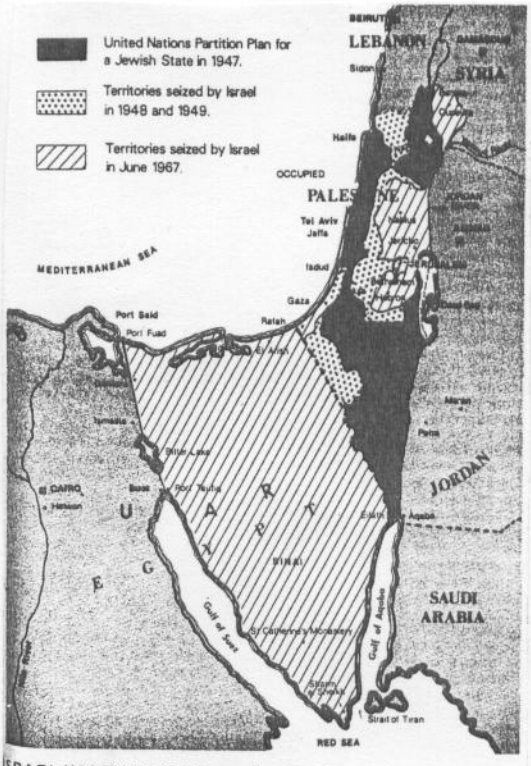

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Women's meet to build Morgentaler defense

by LIS ANGUS

On Oct. 26-28, women from across Ontario will participate in what promises to be the largest gathering of feminists in Canada this fall: a women's conference in Toronto, sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Students. Busloads of women will be coming from Ottawa, Kingston, and St. Catharines to take part in a wide variety of conference discussions and activities.

The conference will open with Linda Jenness, socialist presidential candidate in last year's U.S. election campaign, speaking on "The Roots of Women's Oppression."

A high point of the conference will be a public meeting and demonstration on Saturday, Oct. 27 in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician who is now being tried on charges under Canada's abortion laws. The action, co-sponsored by the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, will involve speakers from the NDP, the labor movement, and student and feminist organizations.

Dr. Morgentaler has long been a fighter for women's right to medically-safe abortion and a campaigner for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion law. He is currently facing 13 charges under the abortion law — nine of them stemming from a raid on his Montreal clinic on Aug. 15. He goes on trial for the first of these charges on Oct. 18.

A defense campaign is rapidly mounting across the country to educate people on the facts in the case, and to mobilize public support in defense of Dr. Morgentaler — to prevent his victimization by the Quebec courts. Defense committees have been founded in most major cities to organize the campaign.

In Montreal, an English-language public meeting took place Oct. 15, with a number of prominent individuals speaking in defense of Dr. Morgentaler. On Oct. 18, the day the trial begins, supporters will participate in a picket line outside the Palais de Justice.

The Edmonton Morgentaler defense committee is organizing a large public meeting there for Oct. 17.

In Regina, women participating in a provincial Tribunal on Abortion on Oct. 20 will hear Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada, speak in defense of Dr. Morgentaler. This Tribunal will involve women from across the province. Pelrine will also speak to audiences in Calgary. In mid-November, she is projected to do a tour of the other western provinces on behalf of the defense campaign.

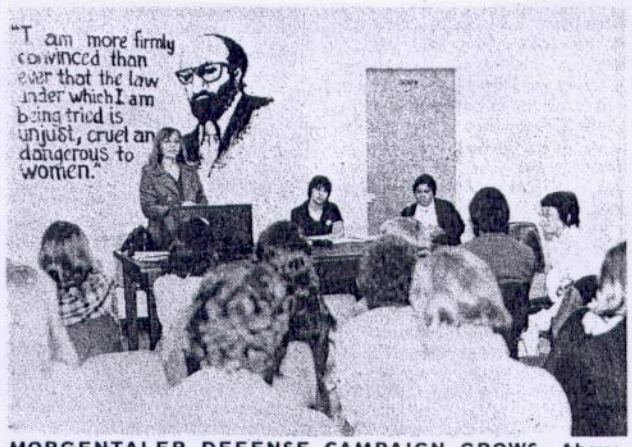
Demonstrations and rallies are planned in several cities during November. In Ottawa, an indoor public rally and a march to Parliament Hill are planned for Nov. 24. This action will include brief speeches from prominent supporters, and some testimony from women who have had illegal abortions or had been refused therapeutic abortions.

Morgentaler defense will be a big part of a Toronto Hearing on Abortion projected for Nov. 17, which will also hear testimony from other victims of the abortion law — women who have experienced the effects of this law in one way or another — and professionals who can testify to aspects of the law and the situation it creates. Another large public defense meeting will be held Nov. 28 in the Town Hall in Toronto.

In Vancouver, the Morgentaler defense campaign will be an important part of the November convention of the B.C. NDP. Supporters of the campaign — many of them active in the B.C. NDP Women's Rights Committee, which has endorsed the defense campaign — will aim to win the support of the convention for Dr. Morgentaler's case.

International support for the campaign is also mounting. Telegrams have been sent to Quebec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette by a number of organizations, including NOW (the National Organization of Women) and NARAL (National Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws) in the U.S.

These activities across the country are only the beginning of what is becoming a very active campaign, focusing public pressure on the state and the courts to drop all charges under this unjust law against Dr. Morgentaler and other victims of this law.



MORGENTALER DEFENSE CAMPAIGN GROWS. Above, fouding meeting of Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee in Vancouver.

In Brief

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McGILL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF WORKERS

OCT. 16 — An estimated 4,000 McGill University students in Montreal are boycotting classes in solidarity with a strike of 300 maintenance workers on the campus. Local 298 of the Service Employees Union (FTQ) are on strike and have asked students and faculty not to cross their picket lines.

About 800 students attended a solidarity rally with the workers Oct. 15. Classes have been cancelled by about 40 faculty members to date.

B.C. FEDERATION OF LABOR HOLDS WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

One hundred and seventy-five delegates, mainly women, attended the third annual B.C. Federation of Labor Conference on Women's Rights held in Vancouver Sept. 29-30. Among the resolutions passed in workshops were one supporting the campaign in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler now facing charges under Canada's restrictive abortion laws, and a resolution calling for provision of child-care facilities. Delegates were informed only after the second day of the conference that the deadline for submitting resolutions to the B.C. Federation of Labor convention had already passed.

Considerable discussion was provoked by a resolution proposing the establishment of a Ministry of Women's Rights in the B.C. government. Some delegates to the conference objected that establishment of the ministry might give people a false sense of security that something was being done for women. How, others asked, could establishment of a ministry by itself forward the interests of women? The resolution was defeated by a large majority.

SUPREME COURT DENIES WOMAN'S RIGHTS

The Supreme Court of Canada has upheld the ruling of an Alberta judge that denies Irene Murdoch of Nanton, Alberta a share of her husband's ranch or home with the couple's separation. The trial judge denied her claim to a half interest in the family business on the grounds that she made "only a normal contribution as a wife to the matrimonial regime."

Murdoch worked for 25 years on the ranch, as well as contributing financially to the operation. She ran the operation alone for several months each year while her husband was absent on other agricultural business. But the only reward for her efforts has been a $200 a month separation allowance from her husband.

The Supreme Court decision reinforces the slave-labor status of women within the family. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended that the law "recognize the concept of equal partnership in marriage so that . . . upon the dissolution of the marriage each will have a right to an equal share in the assets accumulated during marriage . . . ."

RESOLUTION OPPOSES DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GAYS

By a vote of 16 to 1, Toronto City Council passed a resolution on Oct. 10 prohibiting discrimination against gays in city employment. The resolution specifies that there should be no discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in hiring, assignments, promotion or dismissal.

A spokesperson for the Toronto Gay Alliance Towards Equality credited support by city employees in CUPE locals 43 and 79 as being instrumental in passage of the important resolution.

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Bill 11 violates NDP policies

B.C. labor attacks new Labor Code

The following statement was issued Oct. 2 by the British Columbia Federation of Labor, following a meeting of BCFL officers and representatives of the Canadian Labor Congress.

Federation leaders told a press conference that "the (Barrett) government has departed drastically from the policies of the New Democratic Party as established in convention and from the spirit of the eight-point program in the 1972 election campaign."

They called on MLAs to push for amendments in line with the stated policy of the NDP as adopted by the party and union ranks in conventions.

B.C. FEDERATION OF LABOR OFFICERS Ray Haynes, Mike Barr, and Bill Stewart at press conference announcing campaign for amendments to NDP government's proposed labor bill.

While the proposed legislation contains some useful provisions to assist unions to extend trade union organization to unorganized workers, there are serious inadequacies, combined with provisions which negate the value of some of the improvements. Beginning with the definitions which still exclude, totally without justification, fishermen, agricultural workers and licensed professionals, the proposed Code would still make organizational picketing, a vital tool in organizing in many industries, illegal.

No provision is made requiring the Board, when rejecting a unit as inappropriate, to advise the union as to what is the appropriate unit; nor, it appears, will there be provision to provide lists of employees to unions seeking certification. Proposals to tighten up restrictions on company unions were ignored. The Board can still permit employers to try to defeat union organizing by raising wages without the consent of the union.

While such provisions as those permitting one-person units, allowing certification votes based on application by 35 per cent of the employees and improved protection against unfair labor practices are all potentially helpful, the unsatisfactory structure of the proposed Board can largely offset these improvements. On balance, the proposed Code does not appear to significantly assist in organizing the many unorganized workers in the province.

DANGEROUS POWERS

To our knowledge, never have such sweeping powers been given to any Labor Relations Board. The powers granted to the defunct Mediation Commission pale in comparison.

Among the powers given to the Board which we believe to be extremely dangerous are the power to form councils of trade unions for bargaining purposes, irrespective of the wishes of the workers involved; the power to decide if national agreements are to be in effect in B.C.; the power to have panels, even one-man panels, decide all questions of law; the power (referred to subsequently) of life and death over a strike through the power to restrict or prohibit picketing; the power given to each member to exercise the considerable powers of a Public Inquiry Commissioner and (highly offensive to labor) the power to intrude into the internal affairs of a trade union.

In addition to all of these sweeping powers, there are no democratic checks. There are no provisions that management and labor nominees are genuinely representative; there are no specific terms of appointment, such as a two or three year term, and there is a structure which means that the majority of the Board consists of people who are not trade unionists and who have no connection with the hundreds of thousands of people over whose future they have control.

While we appreciate the efforts in the Code to get labor matters out of the courts, our appreciation is diminished by our concern over the Board's structure and composition.

We believe that such sweeping powers, in the hands of a body over which there is no democratic control, is highly dangerous and incompatible with a truly democratic society.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

In addition to the sweeping powers detailed above, the Board is given the power to impose compulsory arbitration in the case of negotiations for first agreements.

While the government can point to situations in which this provision might be beneficial to particular groups of people, it is our view that compulsory arbitration is wrong, that compulsion has no place in labor-management relations and that, once the principle of compulsion is embodied in a piece of labor legislation, the opportunity for extension of its application is ever present. This is a particularly distressing section in view of the

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strong and unequivocal opposition to compulsion contained in the policy of the New Democratic Party and in the 1972 election program.

While one or two useful changes with respect to strikes and picketing have been included in the proposed Code, the net effect of the many changes is to restrict still further the right of trade unions to pursue effectively the interests of their members. The continued provision for the extended appointments of Mediators, with the curtailment of the right to strike during such appointments, is a serious error. Experience with the previous legislation had shown that such provision will severely impair the effectiveness of the Mediator whose presence is viewed as a tool to deny workers their legitimate right to strike.

The strikes will still occur, as they have in the past, legal or not, and, at the same time, the appointment of Mediators will continue to be viewed with suspicion. This provision is directly contrary to the government's expressed desire to improve the mediation process in British Columbia.

Existing right to picket would be curtailed by provisions which outlaw picketing the employers' secondary places of business if the union concerned or any other union has a collective agreement at that secondary place of business. Again, dangerous powers are given to the Board to limit or curtail picketing where two or more employers occupy the same site.

Finally, trade unionists are still denied the right to secondary picketing, except in a few cases where direct collusion can be established. Workers involved in a labor dispute are still, therefore, denied rights of attending at a particular place of business to diseminate information — rights which are enjoyed by practically everybody else in our society. It appears, for instance, that our present campaign of picketing Super Valu in support of California farm workers would still be illegal.

Balanced against these restrictions, the improvements with respect to trespass and secondary boycotts appear relatively minor.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

The inadequacy of the technological change provisions are seen very clearly if they are compared to the provisions included in the legislation introduced at the last session of the Legislature relating to government employees' bargaining rights. Under those proposals, employees would have a simpler and more satisfactory procedure relating to technological change. Under Bill 11 the right to strike is almost unobtainable, as the conditions and restrictions are even worse than in the federal legislation.

We must point out that the NDP policy proposed effective methods to protect workers against the adverse effects of technological change, while this legislation falls far short of providing any effective protection.

UNION SHOP

A glaring omission in the Code is the absence of any provision that, when the majority of people in a certified bargaining unit desire a union shop provision, it shall automatically be included in the collective agreement. Not only does the proposed Code fail to provide this measure of union security, it undermines union security by providing an opportunity for an anti-union minority to opt out of the union on so-called religious conscience grounds. We have previously outlined the strong arguments against the introduction of this partial right — to — work law and warned of its great dangers. Trade unionists in this province cannot be expected to work towards improved industrial relations while the union shop is threatened by such legislation.

ACCREDITATION

We have repeatedly stated our many objections to the provisions for the accreditation of employer groups. We have stated and still state that these provisions are an obstacle to improving industrial relations in the province.

In addition, the provision for a labor ombudsman is an insult. We have fought for and will continue to fight for a provincial ombudsman covering all citizens in the province. We find it extremely offensive, however, that trade unions have been singled out for special attention in this area, particularly since the record of organized labor in B.C., as far as fair treatment of individual members is concerned, compares favorably with virtually any other organization in the province.

With respect to the specific provision, we suggest they are a bureaucratic nightmare and will prove unworkable and the source of constant unwarranted intrusion into the affairs of unions.

There are many lesser, but nevertheless important, points which we will deal with in a subsequent, more detailed analysis. All of the major points contained herein require amendment if this legislation is to serve the interests of the working people of British Columbia and if it is to promote improved industrial relations in the province.

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Barrett's Labor Code threatens unions

No new shackles on B.C. labor

by THE EDITORS

"We've come to the critical point in the evolution of labor-NDP politics in this province. It's a point of agonizing reassessment of the whole situation. There's a break in trust here."

This was the comment of a labor leader who participated in the lobby of the B.C. NDP cabinet and MLAs in Victoria Oct. 9, seeking abolition of restrictive antilabor clauses in the government's new Labor Code. The Barrett government has so far resisted all such demands to amend its draft legislation.

The campaign now developing around the proposed law confronts the labor movement and the ranks of NDP members and supporters with a critical challenge. Will the B.C. experience with an NDP government serve to thrust forward the interests of the working people, their independent power and striking force — or will that government retreat before the pressure of the bosses, imposing further legislative shackles and bureaucratic edicts on the workers' organizations, hamstringing them as vital instruments in labor's ceaseless struggle to defend and advance its class interests?

The new Labor Code, Bill 11, revokes some of the worst features of the old Social Credit labor laws. Besides repealing Bill 33 and the Mediation Commission, it provides easier certification for newly-organized groups and guaranteed first contracts; compulsory technological change provisions in all contracts; the elimination of ex parte injunctions; bargaining rights for civil servants and the banning of "professional strikebreakers." But the bill introduces so many new antilabor measures that these positive aspects are seriously undercut, if not vitiated altogether.

What the labor code establishes is a means by which the government can and will intervene in the unions, restricting the rights of working people to organize and to defend themselves against their profit-gouging bosses with the only weapon they have — the power of their collective action through strikes and pickets. The B.C. Federation of Labor statement published on page 9 of this issue of Labor Challenge outlines many of the repressive aspects of the bill.

While all kinds of restrictions are placed on the democratic rights of working people, the rights of the bosses to hire, fire and even carry out plant closures are enshrined in the code. The bill would severely restrict the right to strike and picket. It legitimizes compulsory arbitration, for example empowering the Labor Relations Board to impose a settlement during the first year of a contract.

ARBITRARY BOARD

The most pernicious aspect of the legislation is the sweeping powers given to the revamped Labor Relations Board. The bill takes away from the courts many of the arbitrary powers they have had to intervene in internal union affairs and frustrate the democratic processes of the ranks — only to hand those powers over to an even more arbitrary board.

The board has unlimited powers to certify and decertify unions. It can intervene in the internal affairs of the unions, appointing mediators, special officers, advisory boards and commissions, even a "labor ombudsman" to hear complaints against unions. The board can decide who is or is not a member of a union — undermining the unions' ability to protect themselves against scabs and company agents.

All the Labor Relations Board's decisions are "final and conclusive," not open to question or review. None of its proceedings can be restrained by injunction, or other court proceeding. The board alone is empowered to hear appeals from its own rulings. The bill even goes so far as to state that LRB "shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction to determine the extent of its jurisdiction."

The decision of this board will have the force of court orders, meaning that workers and unions found by the board to have violated the act, besides being fined up to $1,000 and $10,000 respectively, could be charged with contempt of court and subjected to jail terms.

NEW WEAPON FOR BOSSES

The board's composition, already dominated by pro-management representatives, only underscores how dangerous a weapon it can become in the hands of a Liberal, Tory of Socred government in Victoria that is even less responsive to the interests of labor than is the present NDP administration.

The adoption of this bill would arm big business with a whole new arsenal of antilabor weapons.

These terms of the bill are a clear betrayal of the NDP's own policy on labor legislation, as decided by conventions of the party membership. That policy has been one of consistent support for free collective bargaining rights, of the unfettered right to organize, strike and picket. The NDP has in the past campaigned for the extension of these rights to all workers.

In office, however, the Barrett government has brought about no fundamental change in the workers' situation. According to BCFL secretary-treasurer Ray Haynes, "we haven't had the relationship we could expect . . . considering the part the trade union movement played in putting the NDP government in." Haynes told Canadian Press this month that "We've got more compulsory arbitration now than we had under the Socreds." He says that the new Labor Code has 44 items that are favorable to management and only 16 that will help the unions.

'ENSURE CLASS PEACE'?

Bill 11 is intended not to change the relationship of forces between the bosses and the workers to the advantage of the workers, but to ensure class peace — in the language of the bill itself, "securing and maintaining industrial peace and promoting conditions favorable for the settlement of disputes." By severely undermining the workers' ability to exercise the right to strike, picket, boycott, etc., the bill may induce rapid "settlements" — but only at the expense of the workers, placing them even more at the mercy of the giant corporations.

The NDP government claims that the all-powerful Labor Relations Board, composed of "experts," is a "more appropriate" body than the courts for dealing with "labor-management relations." But it is absolutely false to claim, as NDP leaders are doing, that the courts are antilabor because they lack "expertise" in labor matters. The problem with the courts is that they are instruments of the capitalist ruling class.

Will this board be any different? Its entire purpose is to deprive labor of reliance on its own forces, its own organization and membership resources, and to force the working people to look to yet another institution of the capitalist state for redress in their struggle against the bosses. Such an institution, no matter how many "labor statesmen" serve on it, can only serve the general interests of the employer class.

The BCFL leadership have made many correct criticisms of the new labor bill. But

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at the same time, it has submitted its own list of nominees for membership in the labor relations board. It has confined its opposition largely to lobbying MLAs. In proposing amendments to the bill, it describes its aim as one of "improving industrial relations," the same framework as the NDP leadership invokes.

What is needed is a powerful campaign mobilizing the ranks of the labor movement and the NDP in all-out opposition to the reactionary, repressive provision of Bill 11.

The demand of the labor movement in struggle against the Social Credit strikebreaking Mediation Commission under Bill 33 was **Repeal it! Take the Shackles off Labor!**

NO NEW SHACKLES!

No new Shackles on Labor! Defeat the Repressive Provisions of Bill 11! This must now be the rallying cry of the labor movement.

The conventions of the B.C. Federation of Labor and the B.C. NDP take place in early November. In past years, both organizations conducted a successful campaign of mass action against the Socred Bill 33. The delegates to both conventions must resolve to take up a similar struggle against Bill 11.

It will require the combined power of the trade union movement and thousands of NDP members in British Columbia to prevent the use of Bill 11 against the working people. Militants in the BCFL and the NDP must begin to organize now.

ANTI-LOCKOUT, ANTI-ARBITRATION ... Carpenters union members demonstrating against Bill 33 Mediation Commission. Mass actions, defiance of repressive laws and labor bodies, and political action through NDP defeated Socreds and their antilabor laws. Similar actions are needed if labor is to defeat reactionary measures in Barrett government's new Labor Code.

Reaction to Bill 11

by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER — After more than a year of stalling, the New Democratic government in British Columbia has finally got around to amending the province's reactionary antilabor laws.

Bill 11, the new Labor Code introduced in the legislature Oct. 1, replaced the Labor Relations Act, the Trade Union Act and the Mediation Commission Act of the previous Social Credit government. These laws, which included the notorious Bill 33 legislation with its hated mediation commission and compulsory arbitration provisions, had been the target of a sustained campaign by the organized labor movement. The B.C. Federation of Labor's defiance of the Socred legislation was a powerful factor in rendering the Mediation Commission ineffectual and in rallying support for the election of the NDP to office last year around its promise to repeal the antilabor laws.

The new bill is a far cry from what labor called for, however. Articles elsewhere in this issue of Labor Challenge report the BCFL's criticism of the proposed legislation, and outline the strategy that is required to fight and defeat the bill's reactionary provisions.

Public response to the new bill indicates its bias in the interests of the employers. The president of the Employers Council of B.C., William Hamilton, former minister in Diefenbaker's Tory government in Ottawa, expressed basic satisfaction. "There are very sweeping provisions and innovations," the Oct. 3 Toronto Globe and Mail quoted him as saying. "It's not something we can condemn out of hand. We've been seeking new and improved methods to deal with labor-management problems, so we must adopt a constructive attitude."

B.C. Liberal leader David Anderson welcomed the code, noting it was based largely on the Ontario Conservative government's labor legislation. James Chabot, former Socred labor minister, predicted the bill would help speed settlements. Conservative House leader Scott Wallace said he was happy with the compulsory arbitration and binding arbitration features of the bill.

The B.C. Federation of Labor, in contrast, was sharply critical of the bill as "departing drastically" from official NDP policies and its 1972 election platform. "Since the Barrett government was elected, we haven't had the relationship we could expect ... considering the part the trade union movement played in putting the NDP government in," BCFL secretary treasurer Ray Haynes told Canadian Press.

Haynes stated that in his view the Labor Code has 44 items that are favorable to the bosses, and only 16 that will help labor unions.

But labor is seriously divided in its approach to the bill. In a telephone interview from Bermuda with the Vancouver Sun, Jack Munro, regional president of the International Woodworkers of America, said he supported the Labor Relations Board, a central feature of the new legislation, "if the board has the authority to investigate disputes and to try and solve them." But IWA New Westminster local president Gerry Stoney rejected Munro's call for a union study of the bill. "I certainly don't need time to sit and study the bill," said Stoney. "It's unsatisfactory and should be changed before it becomes law."

Teamsters president Edward Lawson, a Liberal senator, praised the bill, saying "it could be the most progressive labor act in North America." The Teamsters Joint Council, with 17,500 members, is not in the BCFL.

Whether they support or oppose the bill's provision for an all powerful Labor Relations Board, union leaders have rushed to propose their own nominees for the board. But the board is already stacked against labor. Its chairman, Toronto law professor Paul Weiler, has been a company representative on arbitration boards and has represented such corporate giants as International Nickel and Air Canada. Administrative chairman will be Ed Peck, president of the Towboat Industrial Relations Association and an active member of the Employers Council. Jack Moore, former IWA regional president, will be second vice-chairman, and Nancy Morrison, a former Vancouver city prosecutor and member of the Liberal party, is third vice-chairwoman. In addition to these executive members, the board includes three from labor and three from the bosses.

The bill has received unanimous agreement in principle in the legislature, and now goes to committee for detailed study.

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But program not clear

Sask. Waffle votes to quit NDP

by RICHARD THOMPSON

MOOSE JAW, Sask. — On the first day of its Oct. 6-8 conference here, the Saskatchewan Waffle resolved, with only a handfull of dissenting votes, to leave the NDP and prepare to launch a "new socialist party" in early 1974. Some 270 people attended the three-day conference, including about 40 visitors from Ontario, Alberta and Manitoba.

The near-unanimity of the decision to leave the NDP reflected the Waffle leadership's careful preparation of the split long before the Moose Jaw conference. With the results effectively predetermined, many former supporters of the Waffle did not attend the meeting. Several others left after the first day's decision.

Later in the conference the full implications of the decision were spelled out in a motion declaring membership in the NDP or any other political party incompatible with Waffle membership as of Jan. 1, 1974. More than one-quarter of the delegates opposed this resolution, some indication of the unease among many Wafflers at so sharp a break with the NDP.

MLA John Richards (Saskatoon-University), the only Waffle supporter in the provincial legislature, indicated he would announce his resignation from the NDP legislative caucus a few days after the Moose Jaw conference.

John Richards

The decision to split from the NDP follows a two-year period of crisis in the Saskatchewan Waffle which at times virtually paralyzed the organization. For more than a year the Waffle has conducted almost no work within the NDP.

Certainly the crisis of the Saskatchewan Waffle group is not produced by lack of opportunities for building the socialist movement in the province. Just a few weeks before the Moose Jaw conference, workers occupied the Morris Rodweeder Co., Yorkton's largest factory, for nine days to demand union recognition and the rehiring of a union militant.

During the conference itself it was announced that a slate of Metis candidates endorsed by the Metis Association had won four out of five positions in district elections in northern Saskatchewan. This followed a partial victory in the northern town of Ile-a-la-Crosse where a long fight was waged for native control of the school.

Women from the Saskatchewan Women to Repeal the Abortion Laws reported to the Moose Jaw conference on the growing support for the province-wide "Women's Tribunal on Abortion" set for Oct. 20, and the burgeoning campaign to drop the charges against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician before the courts charged with violating Canada's restrictive abortion laws.

After a number of delegates spoke of the need to define the Waffle's new relation to the NDP, Waffle leader Martha Tracey expressed regret with "the unfortunate emphasis that we've left the NDP" because the NDP is "irrelevant to building a new party." But outside the NDP the Waffle can only continue to flounder, isolated from the mass expression of working class politics in Canada.

The continuing radicalization among workers, native people, women and farmers inevitably finds its reflection in the NDP, as the experience of the party's left wing over the past few years has shown. The massive struggles in Saskatchewan between 1968 and 1970, when workers, farmers and students were mobilized in mass actions against the Thatcher government, spilled into the NDP and produced the party's election victory in 1971. It was the vanguard elements tossed up in those struggles who gave initial vitality to the emergent Saskatchewan Waffle.

The Waffle, by its own volition, cuts itself off from those militants who are propelled into the NDP by the radicalization. The NDP's rank and file is left to the mercy of the party bureaucrats who are capable of significant left maneuvers, both in rhetoric and practice, rather than allow any significant layer of the working people pass them by in

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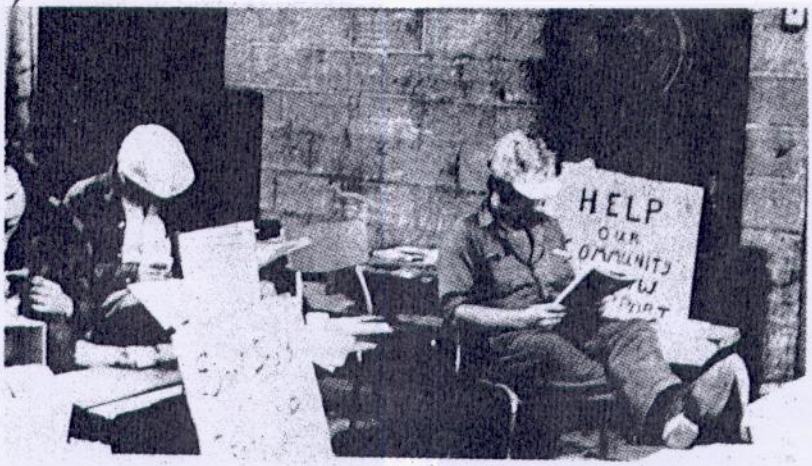

YORKTON WORKERS occupied plant for nine days to force company to meet their demands. Such actions show opportunity for building socialist movement.

favor of the new Waffle party.

The NDP leadership was happy to place full responsibility for the Waffle's split on the Waffle leaders. "We would sincerely regret withdrawal of Waffle supporters," Saskatchewan NDP president Alvin Hewitt told the press Sept. 19. "The executive asked me to publicly reaffirm the NDP's position that it welcomes as members of the party people with a variety of progressive views."

The Waffle leadership justifies its split on the basis that the NDP is a reformist Social-Democratic party which confines itself to electoralism and minor reforms. Such criticisms, as far as they go, are correct. Encrusted with a reformist bureaucracy, the NDP cannot lead the Canadian revolution. Its leadership is a barrier to the class struggle and must be swept aside.

But in building an alternative leadership it is necessary first to develop a program and strategy which can lead the struggles of working people forward. Such an alternative is posed by the League for Socialist Action.

With a program based on the objective needs of the working people and the oppressed, the LSA sees the task as mobilizing concrete actions and campaigns, both within and outside the NDP, that can point to the socialist alternative, so that working people who look to the NDP for leadership can discover in the course of their own experience the role of the NDP leadership as a barrier to the class struggle.

The Waffle's decision to leave the NDP stems from the same lack of programmatic clarification which has caused it to flounder from crisis to crisis throughout its brief history.

While many Waffle members are groping for political answers to the problems which have beset the NDP's left wing, a split from the Social-Democratic NDP poses no solution. Such an organizational measure only avoids coming to grips with the reformist notions with which the Waffle remains deeply imbued.

Having split from the NDP the Waffle finds itself a hodge-podge of diverse currents and opinions. The policy panels and plenaries at the Moose Jaw conference resolved almost nothing, with policy discussions to continue until the founding conference of the "new party."

Ontario Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC — formerly Ontario Waffle) leader Mel Watkins, attending the conference as an observer, hailed the Saskatchewan Waffle's decision as clearing the road for development of "a viable socialist formation functioning nationally and provincially across Canada." (The MISC is expected to take steps towards formation of a new Ontario party at its upcoming December conference.) But a big question mark must be placed behind the "viability" of the Waffle.

The crisis in direction which led the Saskatchewan Waffle out of the NDP has by no means been resolved by the split; its fundamental political problems remain. Upcoming issues of Labor Challenge will examine the further convulsions which the Waffle in both Saskatchewan and Ontario are certain to go through.

labor Challenge #88 Oct 1973

Wide protests against Chile repression

by ROBERT SIMMS

Worldwide protests against the Chilean coup are continuing. Demonstrations of enormous sizes swept Latin American countries in the days following the coup. In Europe, some demonstrations rivalled the size of anti-Vietnam-war mobilizations in recent years.

October 8-15 was declared a national week of action in the United States by several defense groups, including the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The USLA has published lists of known political prisoners in Chile and is calling for emergency appeals on their behalf.

World protests have already been credited with saving the lives of some political prisoners, as in the case of Communist party leader Luis Corvalan, originally threatened with summary execution by the military junta.

In Canada, recently-formed defense committees in several cities have initiated demonstrations and teach-ins. Three hundred people attended a protest rally in Vancouver Oct. 12, sponsored by the Chile Solidarity Committee, several NDP organizations and three MLAs.

About 125 demonstrators in Ottawa marched from the Chilean embassy to Parliament Hill Oct. 13 to demand that the Canadian government grant asylum to the Chilean refugees. A defense committee has been established in Hull, Quebec.

On Oct. 16 in Montreal, close to 1,000 people attended a rally on Chile and the Mideast, organized by the Quebec-Chile Solidarity Committee. The committee has wide support in Quebec, including the three trade union centrals. Speakers at the rally included Marcel Pepin, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) who called for the formation of Chile solidarity committees across Quebec, Maurice Hebert, a Quebecois who has lived for the past few years in Chile, Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, and Rezeq Faraj of the Quebec-Palestine Association. Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ) sent solidarity greetings to the meeting. The rally was preceded by student rallies at McGill University and the University du Quebec a Montreal (UQAM) and a demonstration of 150 persons through downtown Montreal.

A large public meeting is scheduled Oct. 18 in Toronto, featuring Michel Chartrand, NDP MP John Rodriguez, Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and Labor Challenge correspondent Phil Courneyeur, just returned from Argentina.

These actions all assist in the formation of broad, non-exclusionist committees fighting to defend the political prisoners; end U.S. and Canadian aid to the military junta and for political asylum for Chilean refugees. More are needed.

Ottawa refuses asylum

As the junta conducts house-to-house searches to root out left-wing literature, foreigners and "activists," many thousands of persons are frantically trying to find refuge in some foreign embassy. The embassies, which shelter hundreds of refugees from the white terror, have become one of the few havens from the bloodbath.

But the front door to the Canadian embassy in Santiago is kept locked. To get inside, persons must show their passport at the door to a guard, who will unlock the door if the passport is a Canadian one!

Soon after the coup, about a dozen foreigners managed to enter the Canadian embassy. But five Uruguayans among them, a pregnant woman, were later ordered to leave the building. "We already know that a few hours after they left, one of them was arrested. I do not know the fate of the others" writes Serge Mongeau, in an open letter to External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp published in Le Devoir Oct. 12. The Canadian government refuses to accept the principle of political asylum for Chilean refugees.

Mongeau is a left-wing Quebecois doctor who has been studying in Chile for eight months.

The situation is such in Chile today, reports Mongeau, that by writing his letter to Sharp, he is endangering his own life. "Many have disappeared for much less." Of his fifteen classmates, almost all of them foreign students, no less than six were arrested by the junta. Two of them, Bolivians, have been murdered.

The students were studying in an institution of the United Nations in Chile. They were supposedly under the UN's protection.

VANCOUVER RALLY Oct. 12 demanded 'Hands off the political refugees,' 'Free the political prisoners.' Sponsors were Chile Solidarity Committee and Vancouver NDP Area Council.

labor Challenge #88 Oct 1973

Public forum series launches new HQ for Winnipeg LSA

by JOE KELNER

The Winnipeg League for Socialist Action combined the opening of its new headquarters Oct. 5 with the first of a new series of public forums for the discussion of radical and socialist ideas.

The forum opened with a discussion of the purpose of the new headquarters. The Winnipeg LSA aims to make it a center of action and of discussion for the left in Winnipeg. Vanguard Forums will be held every second Friday, with speakers from the LSA, the Young Socialists, and many other currents of the Winnipeg left.

The topic of the first discussion in the new forum program was "The Nixon-Brezhnev-Mao Deals: How Far Can They Go?" John Riddell, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, was the main speaker.

The LSA's new center is at the top of the Hart Building in downtown Winnipeg: suite 600, 261 Fort St. (telephone 943-3127) In addition to the Vanguard Forum's meeting hall, it contains the headquarters of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists, and the Vanguard Book Service. The bookstore has been expanded to present Winnipeg's most impressive selection of titles on women's liberation, Marxist theory, the youth radicalization, and on workers struggles past and present around the world.

The Winnipeg LSA held its annual conference the next day, Oct. 6. Beverley Bernardo reported on plans for the work of revolutionary socialists in Winnipeg. The LSA has registered impressive gains in all aspects of its work this fall, she said.

An example is the participation of LSA members, along with members of the Young Socialists, in a drive to build the circulation of the socialist press in Winnipeg. Subscriptions sold to Labor Challenge and to the Young Socialist already amount to 120 percent of the original goal. Only six months ago the Winnipeg LSA aimed for the same goal, and reached barely 10 percent of it. Sales of single copies of the two papers are also up significantly, Bernardo reported. The Vanguard Book Service reports its circulation of radical books and pamphlets has increased several times over, compared with past years.

The conference also heard reports on the works of Winnipeg revolutionary socialists in several important areas. The LSA has campaigned over the past month to launch broad and non-exclusionist actions for the defense of democratic rights in Chile. Many LSA members are active in the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, threatened with jail for defying Canada's anti-abortion laws. The Winnipeg LSA is promoting the building of the socialist left wing in the Manitoba New Democratic Party. Many LSA members are active in the Winnipeg Young Socialists, and two are elected members of the University of Manitoba students' union.

The conference decided to concentrate its energies in the coming months in building its new forum program and bookstore, making its new headquarters a prominent center for discussion among socialists, and for intervention in the wide range of political struggles developing in Manitoba today.

JOHN RIDDELL, LSA executive secretary addressed Winnipeg Vanguard Forum Oct. 5, first in a series in new forum program.

labor Challenge

Quota raised to 2,600

On target in drive for new readers

by GRANT HARGRAVE

"Inspiring" is the word being used by experienced Labor Challenge salespeople to describe the response to our subscription drive. The drive originally projected 2500 new readers for Labor Challenge, the student oriented monthly Young Socialist, and the French-language socialist and Quebec independentist paper Liberation. But the enthusiasm of our supporters across the country, combined with the widespread interest in the papers has encouraged five areas to raise their quotas. Our overall quota now stands at 2600 new subscribers by November 13. After six weeks in the 10-week drive, we are right on target, with 60 percent of our goal.

The most impressive sales results have been on campus, indicating that the radicalization continues to deepen among students, as well as young people generally. Campus residences continue to be the most productive areas for our salespeople.

But experience shows us that subscriptions can be sold almost anywhere. For example, one supporter in Toronto was able to sell three subscriptions in the space of a few minutes on the street. The first was to a person walking down the street, the second to a motorist who stopped and called our salesperson over, and the third to a man who had been on his balcony observing the two previous sales! Others have been able to successfully sell the paper while travelling by bus or subway. And whenever people express an interest, the introductory offer of $1.00 for 8 issues of any of the three papers makes sales easy and relatively painless.

You can help us in our effort to make the socialist press available to the widest possible number of readers, and at the same time help some of the thousands of people who are interested in the socialist alternative, by writing to us for a subscription drive kit. Then sell subscriptions at school, at work, at home or wherev you go.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD	SHOULD BE	%
Winnipeg	70	85	42	122%
Ottawa	100	107	60	107%
St. Catharines	30	22	18	73%
Toronto U of T	200	123	120	62%
Montreal	400	233	240	58%
Vancouver	325	186	195	57%
Edmonton	250	143	150	57%
Toronto East	375	206	225	55%
Toronto West	425	221	255	52%
Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph	100	18	60	18%
General	325	219	195	67%
TOTAL	**2600**	**1563**	**1560**	**60%**

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Found in 1973 (Nov. 17)

CRITIQUE CONCERNING LABOR CHALLENGE ARTICLES ON THE B.C. WOMEN'S MINISTRY DEMAND

The recent September 10 issue of Labour Challenge carried a full page article on the demand that the BC NDP government establish a Women's ministry, passed by past year's November 24-26, 1972 BC NDP convention. The article is in the form of a review of a recent publication of the BC NDP Women's Committee and is entitled Diversion for Feminists--Women's Ministry--debate in BC NDP.

This article constitutes a 180 degree turn, a complete reversal of our position of support of this demand ever since it was adopted by the BC NDP almost one year ago. We covered the 1972 convention in the December 11, 1972 issue of Labor Challenge. The article reporting on that convention dealt almost exclusively with the debates around questions involving women's liberation and was entitled Women press struggle in BC NDP.

The second paragraph of our December 1972 article read as follows; "A question of key importance posed by the convention was: "Who makes the political decisions in the NDP? This issue emerged most clearly around the passage of a resolution calling for a Ministry of Women's Affairs to be established in the first sitting of the Legislature. The debate on the ministry was the highlight of the convention."

The article continues in the same vein; "The resolution was passed by a solid majority....But in spite of the firm decision taken by the convention Premier Barrett informed the press that the ministry would be very low in his government's priority list. It is clear that what Barrett and other right wing NDP cabinet ministers object to is not the proposal for a women's ministry itself, but the thrust of the struggle and program behind this proposal..... The Barrett leadership....does not want to yield an inch to the radical dynamic behind the NDP convention call for a women's ministry...."

And it concludes in its summary paragraph: "What are the most immediate tasks before the socialist left of the BC NDP? The left is challenged to give leadership to those forces seeking to assert the right of the party to control it legislative caucus, especially around the demand for a Ministry of Women...."

Our original position of all-out support of this demand carried on into subsequent issues of Labor Challenge-for instance an article in the March 5 issue. In that article, reporting the occupation by militants of a child-care project administered by a "Social Credit appointed government bureaucracy" we stated that "many NDPers who supported the demands or the occupation say that this spotlighted once again the need for a ministry of women's rights. Such a ministry, if it were rooted in women's groups across the province would bring enormous pressure to bear on the (NDP) government to meet its responsibilities to women and to carry out NDP policy in this area."

In sharp contradiction to all our previous statements of support of the demand for a women's ministry the article that appeared only a few issues ago in the September 10, 1973 issue of Labor Challenge characterizes the campaign for a women's ministry as a "diversion for feminists," as "a false course for the (NDP) women's rights committee." The concept of a women's ministry which we said in our March 5 issue "would bring enormous pressure to bear on the NDP government", we <u>now</u> say "tends to ease the pressure on the government to enact specific reforms of benefit to women. In this sense it lets Barrett, Trudeau and company off the hook." How "Trudeau and company" are "let off the hook" is not clarified.

That the September 10 article is a complete about-turn on our position on the women's ministry is not so much as mentioned to the readers of Labor Challenge, let alone is it explained to them why we have reconsidered and dumped our previous viewpoint. Few members of the LSA/LSO are even aware that we have changed the public position of the movement. There has been no circular to that effect and there has been no documentation for the education of our cadre. The 180-degree turn on the postal workers strike last spring also went unexplained to the readers of Labor Challenge (in the midst of a nation-wide struggle, in one issue, our readers read one line and our activists in the postal union were expected to implement it and in the next a completely opposite one) and there was no documentation for the education of our cadre. But that switch had at least the merit of correcting a false position.

Unfortunately, the 180° switch on the women's ministry has no compensating feature. The position now expressed in our recent September issue is incorrect. Our previous position was correct.

When the delegates passed the resolution for a women's ministry a year ago it is quite clear that we saw it as an anti-bureaucratic move of considerable importance. The convention previously had passed a whole series of resolutions on equal pay legislation, allocation of funds for and the structuring of child-care facilities, in fact almost our entire body of women's liberation demands insofar as we were able to develop them in resolution form. The resolution on the ministry capped it all off.

It was a demand that the NDP parliamentary caucus carry out the will of the delegates who had been voting in line with resolutions passed by the rank and file of the movement. The resolution expressed a profound unease as to the willingness of the liberal-reformist brass, in the face of bourgeois opposition, to implement the will of the party ranks.

The resolution read as follows; "Therefore be it resolved that the 1972 Provincial Convention of the NDP call for the establishment of a Ministry of Women's Rights in the next sitting of the legislature, to work with other departments on all issues affecting women directly, including relevent aspects of labor legislation, child-care, health

and welfare, education, and other areas of similar concern; that this ministry be headed by a women; and that the selection of this Minister be made after consultation with the Women's Committee of the NDP."

The resolution was then and continues now to be strongly opposed by the right-wing leadership of the party, both within the party, and to the daily press and in the parliament. Not only for the idea of a ministry itself and its implications but no doubt because of the demand that the ministry be headed by a woman. "Out of 38 BC NDP MLA's only five are women, only one executive assistant in Victoria is a woman; only four women were elected to the BC provincial executive. Federally onlyone NDP MP is a woman. All but one of the NDP provincial secretaries (the only paid executive position) are men," according to Melodie Corrigal in the pamphlet under review. As a further irritant to the brass the resolution demanded that the woman be selected in agreement with the Women's Committee, possibly the most potent opposition force to the party brass in the BC party.

That's how we saw the resolution in 1972--that it posed "a question of key importance"--"who makes the political decisions in the NDP," and that's how Barrett himself saw it, according to our 1972 coverage".

"Barrett, speaking to the convention itself, stressed that although the delegates set policy, the party's 'political arm' --the government--has the right to decide which of their policies should be implemented. This statement rightly disturbed many delegates since it implied that the role of the membership is purely advisory and that membership decisions in convention have no force or meaning. The need to establish the democratic right of the party membership to control the decision making of the NDP will be the focus of an important struggle in the party in the next period."

How different is that interpretation of the 1972 resolution from the interpretation that is presented in a slighting, passing, and matter-of-fact, not to speak of a totally false, way in the September 1973 article. "The resolution did not demand that the government enact any new legislation (SIC-RD). It did not demand that the government do anything other than set up another ministry (SIC-RD) which it explicitly described as being integrated into the existing bureaucratic framework of the government and state apparatus (SIC-RD)."

What happened within the year that caused Labor Challenge to make one evaluation of the women's ministry demand, sustained by the events out of which it arose in the Fall of 1972, and to comment on it in such a totally different way in the process of reviewing a pamphlet almost a year later? Interestingly, the pamphlet that provided the occasion for the review is composed of speeches made shortly after the 1972 convention at very important public gatherings at the same time as we made our own first evaluation.

Were there some new and important developments in the interval that caused us to reconsider our previous evaluation of the significance of the demand? Was it co-opted by the right wing brass? Did events so unfold as to make a once fighting demand into a substitute for ongoing struggles around concrete issues confronting women activists? Did it become a diversion from mass action into maneuverings and dickerings in the parliamentary arena?

A careful reading of the September 1973 article reveals it to be notably lacking even in so much as a suggestion that circumstances surrounding the demand for a women's ministry are involved.

Nor does the fact that Labor Challenge devotes an entire page to the question nine months after the demand was passed suggest that the demand was based largely on conjunctural circumstances and what we said was its chief significance, that it posed "who makes political decisions in the NDP."

In fact, with the protests around the BC NDP government's labor lwgislation that split this month's convention down the middle, it would appear that what we have said lay behind the women's ministry, that "the need to establish the democratic right of the party membership to control the decision making of the NDP will be the focus of an important struggle in the party in the next period." - has become a matter of increasing importar.ce.

The September 1973 article, when you probe further into it--since it sticks to commenting on two speeches in support of the demand that were delivered 8 and 9 months ago at the same time as we were establishing our position of support of the demand, indirectly affirms that the actual circumstances surrounding the development of the demand are irrelevant. It suggests, although it is not said explicitly, that something more is involved, that up until September 1973 we ourselves were guilty of making an error of much greater significance although it does not actually characterize the nature of the error.

Unfortunately, the two key articles polemicized against in the September 1973 issue of Labor Challenge do not lend themselves too well (apparently even to the mind of the author) to being a foil for the surreptitious reversal of our line. The obvious problem is that authors Corrigal and Yandle, who we vigorously attack, from their written words in the pamphlet (we are not acquainted with views that they may be expressing elsewhere) stand substantially on the same ground as we stood--just 8 and 9 months ago.

This is in part conceded in the September 1973 article when it recognized that the authors of the two key articles "express no confidence in the Barrett government to bring forth any measures to meet women's needs in spite of the fact that the BC party has adopted a number of key feminist demands. A way must be found to make the government act on these demands," they state, and "Yandle is careful (?-RD) to state that the ministry cannot bring an end to social inequality of women and in that sense (the ministry) is not a 'solution'".

In order to try to use Yandle and Corrigal as a foil to justify a change in our line the September 1973 article has to resort to such argumentative methods as saying that "Yandle and Corrigal imply..." that "they seem to view"... that their "approach.... which could disarm"... etc. etc.

The pamphlet which the September 1973 article polemicizes against is an effective presentation of the views that we ourselves expressed just 8 and 9 months ago. However one of the articles, Yandle's, as the September 1973 article makes special note of, is entitled "A Ministry of Women's Rights -- a structural solution." It would seem that this phrase "a structural solution", is of considerable importance, it is therefore useful to quote Yandle at some length in order to understand what she really says in her written speech of some months ago and how at variance our handling of this is with reality.

Yandle explains what SHE means by the phrase--"the problem is a structural problem and therefore the solution must be structural as well." A considerable portion of this article is devoted to making the point that the problems confronting women in capitalist society, as she herself summarizes "are not accidental by-products of the system but are completely and inseparably part of the system." Refreshingly, for an NDP publication--obviously a reflection on the profoundly radical impact that women's liberation is having on the NDP-Yandle attributes all the major ills of the day to the fact that society is "based on a capitalist economy" and scores liberal reformists for not recognizing that poverty etc, are "not going to be eliminated without making some very fundamental changes in the system of things." In summarizing this section she writes; "The way to begin to correct this is systematically to change and, if necessary, dismantle those institutions that now perpetuate inequality and oppression and to substitute for them new, socialist institutions."

Having dealt with the problem in general, Yandle moves onto the question of the ministry of Women's Rights, and <u>how</u> <u>she</u> personally sees it;

"The first thing to understand about the Ministry is that the idea was not conceived in the head of a bureaucrat, or by anyone concerned with channeling the women's movement into a bureaucracy. Nor was it conceived as a substitute for the women's movement. The idea first came from the NDP Women's Committee itself; it was seen not as a panacea for every ill, but as a means to begin the task of breaking down the structural inequality that women face."

A considerable portion of the Yandle article is devoted to arguing against four different responses to the proposal of a ministry.

The first response Yandle takes on is that of an NDP MLA who opposed the ministry in the house on the basis that he does not recognize that there is discrimination against women as a sex in capitalist society---"he recognized no problem and I do not believe he is alone in the government (the BC NDP government) in that belief."

The second response is one that revolutionists have often met when demanding legislation from capitalist Liberal and Tory party governments---that attitudes cannot be legislated and that first peoples attitudes (shaped by the system) must be changed. She states that such concepts beg the question "None of these institutions (referring to the legal system, the government, the schools) will change of its own accord..."that is why movements grow, to force these changes, and that is why it is incumbent upon socialists to support movements of people that are working for these changes..."

The third objection is that the matter of women's rights, now that there is an NDP government, should be left to the NDP government. She argues that most people in the NDP government either don't understand and those who recognize the issue don't know what to do--only women know what women face. The final one is a variation of the third--"suppose that in the course of these many years of organizing they (Indians) demanded their own ministry (in an NDP government) headed and staffed by Indians themselves."

Finally in summary she likens the demand to those which "we as socialists argue for in relation to the labor movement--the right to strike, the shorter work week, the removal of repressive laws--none of these things is designed to replace the labor movement"--so--"the Ministry of Women's Rights is not proposed as a substitute for organizing to change these institutions. Neither is it a crutch to lean on or a structure to hide behind."

Having emphasized the possibilities she hopes resides in the demand, Yandle mentions "some of the things a Ministry cannot do. A Ministry cannot take the place of women organizing. A Ministry will not end the social inequality of women. No significant social change is ever made by government decree alone unless that decree reflects what is already happening in society at large and is thus the reflection of a larger movement."

Since it is apparent that Yandle in her views as expressed in the reviewed pamphlet--and we are referred to no others--in no way sees the women's ministry as a substitute to struggle for concrete policies which meet women's needs, as Labour Challenge's September 1973 article says is necessary; since it is apparent that Yandle in no way sees (from her written views) the ministry as a substitute for mass action to involve masses of women who have not yet taken action and to pressure the labor movement to actively support these campaigns, as Labour Challenge's September 1973 article says is necessary; and since it is apparent that she is by no means opposed, but from her written views, quite the contrary, to demands that the Barrett government set up abortion clinics, become a model as an employer of women workers, etc., etc. Then what does it actually mean to end up as the September 1973 article does with the ringing cry that the women's rights committee must spearhead campaigns demanding concrete legislation now, and "reject the dead end strategy proposed by Yandle and Corrigal"?

To the average reader of the September 1973 article our attack (on the views of Yandle and Corrigal as they are expressed in the pamphlet that we have polemicized against) can only appear to be essentially unprincipled, dogmatic, sectarian and factional, besides being a quite unintelligible attack on the concept of a Women's Ministry which up until that moment we ourselves quite fully supported.

Does the Women's Ministry demand, contrary to our understanding of its last December, represent "a false course", as our September 1973 article now claims? On the basis of all the evidence presented in the September 1973 article we cannot by any means conclude that it does. It is an anti-bureaucratic demand, a formulation of the determination of the membership of a labor party formation that they, and the policies that their delegates formulate in convention, should determine the policies of the leadership of that labor party formation in parliamentary office.

A question remains--what is meant by "the dead-end strategy" allegedly proposed by leading BC NDP women activists Yandle and Corrigal? We have presented the substance of what they wrote on what is suggested to be an extremely significant phrase in their characterization of the ministry--that it is a "structural solution". We have no cause to differentiate ourselves from how this phrase is explained in Yandle's summary paragraph--the full realization of women's goals "will not be achieved until this society is fundamentally changed, until we change these structures and institutions of our society and economy that lock us into our present situation." However there is one paragraph in the September 1973 Labor Challenge article, inserted at the bottom of the second column from the end, that requires comment.

This paragraph, addressing itself to feminists, tells them that they must understand that the state apparatus cannot be taken over by women, in reference we must suppose to a ministry in the parliamentary apparatus of a bourgeois state--that this will not alter the basic

character of the state as an instrument of class oppression and exploitation. The state, the September 1973 article notes "must be replaced in the process of a revolutionary transformation of society, a socialist revolution."

All of this is very true, but how relevant is it to the question before us? Is this paragraph a hint to our readers? Is it possible that we are trying to suggest that when all is said and done the demand for a women's ministry is a violation of principle? Are we suggesting that to support such a demand betrays a profound ingnorance of the state as an instrument of class oppression and fosters the most dangerous illusions, that the demand of itself and in itself is totally false? Since in an attempt to arrive at some clarify, we have drawn this out, before pursuing this course further it would be well if the September 1973 article were developed more clearly and directly, if this was its intent.

It may well be that Yandle and Corrigal have some illusions as to the nature of the state, although they have the profoundly radical understanding that women's oppression is structured right into society and that profoundly radical understanding that there is a need for totally new structures. They may think that the structuring of the new socialist society can take place on some progressive peicemeal basis of restructuring the old capitalist apparatus. If they hold this view it is by no means clear from their written words in the pamphlet under review. And, besides, even if it were so, it is debatable that we would use this occassion to take them on in this matter.

Above all, what have such illusions got to do with the position that we Trotskyists took of support of a women's ministry almost a year ago, which we dump surreptitiously in this same article? We had then, and we have now, no illusions whatsoever about the need, in order to lay the basis for the structures of the new society, to smash the bourgeois state institutions. Our position was not based on any illusions about the state but on an understanding of the political situation in Brit sh Columbia, on the level of the class struggle, on the relationship of class forces, on the role of the labor party in this struggle. The demand expresses the objective needs of the class, it flows out of their present level of consciousness and takes them forward in struggle, on this occasion, against the reformist bureaucracy that is in office in the parliamentary apparatus of the BC sector of the Canadian bourgeois state.

While it is essential that we Trotkyists acquaint those who will listen with the broad historic experiences of the past--with Marxist theory--particularly with the Marxist theory of the state, the masses are going to learn about it, the need to smash it and to build new forms useful to them, in the process of making demands, particularly on those who they think represent them but who cower before the necessary surgery. The illusions of the masses are going to be dispelled by experience.

By our giving critical support to the NDP while we continue to project the need to build the revolutionary vanguard party and even declare that support the more effectively to pull together the nucleus of such a party, sectarians and dogmatists accuse us of promoting illusions about the NDP. But the illusions are already there and our course is designed to rid the mass of them. In calling for the NDP to power, to parliamentary office, essentially the illusion of power which in reality resides in the bourgeoisie's control of the means of production and the multitudinous forms of the state rule, sectarians and dogmatists accuse us of promoting illusions about the nature of parliament. But the illusions are already there and our course is designed to rid the masses of their illusions about parliament and the state. It is by placing demands on the NDP government that the workers in BC are going to learn both the nature of the NDP, an NDP government, and the bourgeois state. That is the essence of our transitional concepts.

signed
/Ross Dowson
November 17, 1973

Ross Dowson # 2311
40 Homewood
Toronto

Nov 5/73

Old Favorites Bookstore

Would you be so good as to try to obtain a copy of the following books for me

(1) Assassins at Large — Hugo Dewar
(2) The Modern Inquisition — Hugo Dewar
(3) And We Shall Rise Again — Reginald Groves

I have just moved in to the above address and am unable to give you a phone number there — a call at 762 4101 would get me

My regards to Tom + Kay

Fraternally

Ross Dowson

I will contact you within the month to see if the search has got any results

November 11 meeting 1973 of Political Committee

in attendance--Doug Jumesse of SWP--steering committee of LPT also invited, Dick F from NY, Joe Young from Ottawa. According to Gord, Gary made much of the formation of a steering committee of the LPT--claimed that this was a characteristic of a faction. At previous meeting I told PC that the steering committee had no status--only expediting committee, I had no objection-saw no purpose, and would pr sent an orgl contribution in my personal capaciy as a PC member--the LPT was in process of eediting a statement but it wouldnbe ready at least until two weeks from that date as it had to be presented to the tendency, but if they insisted I would present an oral. Only Jim of the steering committee attended--Naomi report Gus ill, Gord had meetings, Wayne engagement, they"accidnetly"invited Harry K. Dick tried to make something of the steering committee--who it was comspoed of-appears to have thought that it was not enough that the CO knew but that it should be in the minutes or publicized wider. Phil reported on revision off convention dates in line with my critcism that previous dates barred working comrades from attending. For some reason three days ~~MMXM2R~~ slated for plenum-however agenda not fixed

But previously under minutes I protested November 4 minutes that Leslie report received as information only, whereas at the November 6 East branch Toronto Lorna gave this report as established policy. I enquired at that meeting as to the status of Lorna's report and was told that this governed only Toronto work as if Toronto work was not an essential part, if not decisive part of Canada-wide policy. PC heard me out, affirmed what I said about PC handling as correct--would check up on Lorna. Somehow it was suggested I make some enquiries which I laughed at and if I recall correctly chair said that it would come up after NDP item and Middle East item. I also sought to append my name as oral presentor of my own view on LPT vote--this was agreed to do-through the next minutes.. Dick called this motion gobbledegook.

Information bulletin motion passed after the fact that two bulletins have come out--the first providing factional advantage to leadership viti itsalternative "reply" to the LPT. Bulletin for leadership only. Discussion bulletin announced for contributions to coming convention--nothing in as yet.

Addison Precis on Middle East. RD got copy the evening before at social from Naomi-~~Harrmxnoxinxxx

NDP telling to go back to work--what does RD think of that. Does RD think women's ministry a tactical question. Waffle splitting from NDP--what does RD think they should do--should we attack them for not supporting NDP
Al---explain within context of 1973 document.
Discussion on JR's submission on our work Arab-Jewish

At opening of meeting when they lined up everything to tape my contribution I protested that it was an oral contribution, that I was not well and had not had time to properly prepare it as I had been working and also had to move—and objected to its being taped. They pressured, I said I am against it but you decided what you will. They did not tape it.

Harry, Gord and Abie's statement not presented in completed form until an hour before meeting so JR recommended it be tabled. He thereupon presented a statement for the first time in three copies outlining a series of strictures on what we do and what we do not aim to do. on Mid East work. A confusion for it does not deal specifically with any concrete proposal for our work, in fact John recommended that the concrete proposal of Harry, Gord and Abie be referred back to the Metro executive for consideration in the light of the adoption of this statement as a guide. However H, G and A came to this meeting to specifically discuss their proposal and for an answer, as the Metro executive had referred them to the PC. a run-round.
Harry took on JR document and posed a series of three I think variants that this would block-but which he thought should be considered. Confused question in my opinion Opened door to—several contributors to effect that Harry capitulating to Zionist pressure.
Art launched an attack --first, there should be a review of the work of these comrades with egards to our press and furthering our direct propaganda--they are not prepared to write for our press yet prepared to move out --in fact they have boycotted our press.
He attacked the three new proposals . He interpreted one as a committee which would oppose Arab and Zionist reaction(which statement said we do not aim to set up) and another as a committee where it is anticipated we would put out our views but not work as open partisans of Arab cause. He challenged that this violated our concept of work on Vietnam-leading to 3rd camp position--and these three are most known Trotskyists--would constitute a massive concession to Zionist pressure.
John R demanded a clear and unequivocaal stand on Palestine right of self determination and opposit on to any kind of maneuvers--real disagreement here. Dick likened Harry line to proposaition to organizea trade union committee against bosses and trade union bureaucrats (?) I interjected to establish the concrete proposal before us and for Harry to present it.
Harry then launched an attack on Art for his slanderous attack on the three of them--that they are boycotting the work of the movement-particulary the press--reported on article to editor, protestsed slander capitalating to Zionism--a serious charge- has to be withdrawn or proven-lay charges. Art refused to withdraw--thereupon Harry walked out. Art asked walkout be recorded--I then said Harry should be able to append statement--JR agreed.
Dick followed Abbie out as meeting came to close. making factional attacks on him.
John under Harry's pressure made motion to refer his document--I voted refer--motion lost..I then voted for document as Dick ammended it . I will make statement in minutes.
Other part of JR motion was refer concrete proposal t Metro--I do not know what happened.
meeting ended in confusion -30-

Abbie handed me a note at the tme I was protesting Lorna taking an undiscussed report into action in the East T branch--it would appear that the Toronto women's fraction has broken down and is going to be discussed at a PC meeting projected. Some youth comrade told him of the breakdown

probably should have abstained —total distraction—

I apologized to Harry for not having immediately protested Art's slanderous attack on him and Gord--I have been getting inured to slander

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MIDEAST ACCORD WON'T BRING PEACE

by DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 24 — Washington and Moscow have agreed to impose a settlement on the Middle East. The agreement was reached in two days of secret talks between Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

Within hours of the conclusion of the Kissinger-Brezhnev meeting, held in Moscow Oct. 20-21, the United Nations was hurried into a midnight session and the Security Council rubber-stamped the big-power settlement with Egypt's and Israel's consent.

Fighting continued on both fronts of the war. New York Times correspondent Charlies Mohr was with Israeli forces as Tel Aviv poured troops and tanks across the Suez to strengthen its hold on the Egyptian lands west of the canal. But this jockeying for position will probably remain within the confines of the secret agreement worked out in Moscow Oct. 21.

The superpower agreement cannot bring peace to the Middle East. Whatever the current boundary settlements may be, the central provision includes permanent recognition of the "right" of Israel to occupy the Arab lands first seized with the formation

Withdraw Canadian troops from the Mideast — page 2

of the Zionist state in 1948 and subsequently enlarged in three wars of expansion. The struggle of the Arab people against this historic injustice will continue and flare up again and again until victory is achieved.

A spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization, which denounced the settlement, declared in Damascus Oct. 22, "Nobody has asked us, as Palestinians, to cease fire . . . .

"We have been fighting the Zionists since 1917. Our armed struggle resumed in 1965 before the last war. As a result of the new cease-fire, Israel would still occupy our homeland. We will continue to fight in Jordan, in the Golan Heights, in Israel."

Aim of detente in the Mideast is to suppress struggle of Palestinians. But without recognition of their rights, there will be no peace.

MEANING OF AGREEMENT

On paper the Oct. 22 resolution is intentionally ambiguous. The UN statement says that "immediately and concurrently with a cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

The resolution also calls for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 of Nov. 22, 1967. This earlier resolution calls for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict." But this phrase has little meaning.

Israel has occupied this territory for six years. The ambiguity of the UN resolutions, past and present, provides "legal cover" for indefinite Israeli occupation of the lands seized in the June 1967 war under the pretext that terms for negotiation cannot be reached.

In Israel on Oct. 23 Premier Golda Meir, who met with Kissinger after his Moscow trip, explicitly underlined this interpretation of the resolution. "In all our contacts with the United States," said Meir, "I have learned that not only does the United States not have a plan regarding borders and the other components of peace, but also that it also believes that those employing their good offices should lead toward a solution in which the parties themselves — and themselves alone — should make proposals and plans regarding the future."

Moscow's agreement with the double-talk sanction of Israel's conquests was signaled in New York Times UN correspondent Robert Alden's report of the resolution, published Oct. 23. "The Soviet diplomats," said Alden, "in their most private contacts, are more conciliatory on the withdrawal question than in their public comments. They say that they do not rule out the possibility of 'minor rectifications.' "

ARAB POSITION

The Washington-Moscow settlement favoring Israel is imposed within a basic political context that has long been accepted by the Arab regimes themselves. This is Israel's permanent existence in the Middle East.

The Arab regimes refuse to mobilize the kind of mass revolutionary struggle against the colonial settler-state that is needed to return Palestine to its rightful Arab occupants.

Fearing that such a mobilization of the Arab masses would threaten capitalist rule in the Arab countries, Cairo and Damascus had limited ends in view in the current war. They hoped to gain sufficient concessions from Israel to appease the mass

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Que. election: what happened

Editorial

Canadian troops: out of Mideast!

OCT. 30 — Between 1,000 and 1,500 Canadian troops have been committed by the Trudeau government for the Mideast. They are scheduled to provide "logistics support" for the United Nations "peacekeeping" force, now placing itself between the Israeli and Arab armies.

The cease-fire settlement in the Mideast has been imposed by the combined efforts of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Its purpose is not to secure a just peace — one that would guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people — but to enforce an unjust settlement to the advantage of the colonial settler-state Israel. In effect, the UN "peacekeeping" force will act as a border guard for Israel, against the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples, keeping the Israeli-occupied territories from their rightful inhabitants. Even in the unlikely eventuality that Israel agrees to retreat to its borders prior to the 1967 war, the Zionist state would still be violating the democratic right of the Palestinians to their self-determination — the right to regain control of their homeland. And the UN force would be there to enforce it.

No matter whether the "peacekeeping" force is made up of "neutral" or "aligned" forces, it still remains an intervention by foreign powers into the affairs of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Canada has had plenty of experience at "peacekeeping" and "logistics support" in the service of U.S. and world imperialism. Nor is it the first time Canadian troops have been in the Mideast — they were there from 1956 to 1967 when Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser kicked the UN force out of his country. During that period, the UN force was stationed in parts of Egypt, but no UN troops were stationed on Israeli territory.

Two particularly revealing examples should be borne in mind. In the Congo (1960-64) Canada took charge of "logistics" for the UN force, purportedly sent in to defend the popular government headed by Patrice Lumumba from the secessionist Belgian puppet Tshombe. Canadian forces played a big role in isolating Lumumba from his supporters, allowing his enemies to murder him and bring Tshombe to power.

In Vietnam in early 1973, Canadian troops joined the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) sent to enforce the treaty that had been imposed on the Vietnamese by the combined pressure of the U.S., the Soviet Union and China. Canadian representatives on the ICCS consistently used their position to condemn the Provisional Revolutionary Government and North Vietnam, while saying nothing of the aggression, repression, torture and murder being carried out by the U.S. client regime headed by Thieu in Saigon.

These examples show the counterrevolutionary role Canada will play in the Mideast. It will do everything it can to back up Israel and prevent the Palestinians and Arabs from achieving their self-determination.

Withdraw Canadian troops from the Mideast!

Self-determination for the Palestinian and Arab peoples!

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Roots of the Mideast war

In view of the pressing need for informed commentary on the issues in the Mideast war, the **International Socialist Review** announces the publication of a special anthology taken from past issues of the ISR. Peter Buch, Gus Horowitz, Nabil Sha'ath and others discuss:

- The Mideast war and the future of Zionism
- Israel and the Arab revolution
- Who has the right to self-determination in Palestine?
- The myth of 'left' Zionism

This new pamphlet is available for 75 cents from the ISR, but is free to new subscribers.

[ ] Enclosed is $1.00 for 3 months of the ISR

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Why socialists support the Arabs

The following article is reprinted from the American socialist weekly, The Militant. The author, Tony Thomas is a well-known spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party.

by TONY THOMAS

One of the most frequent questions asked of speakers from the Socialist Workers Party is why we support the Arab side in the current war with with Israel. Some questioners reason that since both Israel and the Arab states are capitalist, we should not take sides.

Others say it is contradictory for us to favor the overthrow of the capitalist Arab regimes, yet support the Arab side in a war against Israel.

These questioners confuse our stand on the Arab-Israeli war with the position revolutionary Marxists take in regard to wars between two imperialist countries. The question in imperialist wars is the division of spoils taken from the working class and colonial peoples by the different imperialist robbers. The victory of neither side advances the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples.

However, the basic issue in the current Mideast war is the struggle of a nationally oppressed people against colonial oppressors. In that struggle socialists take the side of the oppressed despite our differences with their leadership. A victory for the Arabs in the war against Israel would be an advance not only for the struggle of the Arab peoples but in the general colonial struggle against imperialism.

The Arab states have yet to overcome the legacy of colonial domination, left them first by the Ottoman Empire and then by the European and U.S. imperialists. Today, their economies — including oil resources — remain dominated by the imperialist powers.

Israel's colonial domination of Arab lands is based on the imperialist-imposed backwardness of the Arab states, as well as the massive U.S. aid the Zionist colony has received since 1948.

Backed by this imperialist power, Israel was established in 1948 with the seizure of the Arab lands in Palestine. Seven hundred and fifty thousand Palestinians were driven from their homes. Those who remain face national oppression in their own homeland.

Israel again expanded in 1967 with the seizure of the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Half a million Arabs were driven out of their homelands in this operation.

The dynamic of the Mideast war centers on the struggle of the Arab peoples to rid themselves of the Zionist colonialists and the struggle of the colonialists to weaken the Arab peoples. In struggles against colonialism and national oppression, Marxists give unconditional support to the colonized peoples. By the word "unconditional," we mean we support the struggle against oppression regardless of our differences with the current leadership of the Arab states.

Revolutionary socialists do not think the Arab capitalist leaders have a program that can win the struggle against Zionist colonialism. In the years since 1967, these leaders have opposed the revolutionary anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist sentiments of the Arab masses. Instead of mobilizing the Arab masses against Israel, they chose to make concessions to Zionism and to Israel's imperialist backers.

They have repressed the attempts of the Arab masses to move against Israeli colonialism, such as the Palestinian resistance movement and the massive anti-Zionist, anti-Sadat actions carried out by Egyptian workers and students over the past few years. The rulers of the Arab states feared that such mobilizations could lead to the overthrow of their own corrupt regimes.

Revolutionary socialists believe that only through the process of socialist revolution can the resources of the Arab world, and the full power of the Arab workers, students, and farmers, be mobilized against colonialism. This perspective is opposed by the Arab rulers.

But in the current war with Israel, the difference Marxists have with the Arab rulers is over how and for what to wage this struggle, not whether to wage it. A refusal to support the Arabs in this struggle would be a refusal to support the active fight against Israel.

To use an analogy, we support the Black struggle against white racist oppression in this country, in spite of its inadequate leadership. At different times this struggle may be led by forces that support the Republican and Democratic parties, such as the conservative, procapitalist NAACP.

But it would do nothing to advance the Black struggle if revolutionists refused to support a specific struggle because it is being led by NAACPers, or by Black Republicans or Democrats. In fact, a position of unconditional support of such struggles is a key condition for revolutionary socialists to win Black activists to a revolutionary socialist perspective.

At the same time, of course, revolutionary socialists would oppose any of the limitations such procapitalist leaders might try to place on the struggle.

Similarly, revolutionary socialists support the struggle of African liberation organizations that are fighting Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African colonialism, even if their leadership is not explicitly in favor of socialism. Would it be correct for revolutionary socialists to refuse to support Tanzania or Zambia if they took military action to aid the African liberation struggles? Of course not! Such opposition would only play into the hands of Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

To fail to be at the side of the Arab masses in the struggle against Israel because this struggle is led by the Arab capitalists would be a refusal to take sides in a concrete struggle against Zionist racism and colonialism, and would only stand in the way of the efforts of Arab revolutionary socialists to win the leadership of the Arab workers and farmers in a struggle against both the Arab regimes and Israel.

LSO campaign reached thousands

by PAUL KOURI
and LOUIS PAQUETTE

MONTREAL, Oct. 29 — Despite being ruled off the ballot just prior to today's Quebec election, the Ligue Socialist Ouvriere (LSO) was able to intervene effectively, presenting the socialist alternative to the capitalist candidates.

The LSO's standard-bearer was Manon Leger, running in Mercier/ Montreal riding against Liberal premier Robert Bourassa. Through her campaign, Leger was able to get a hearing before several thousand Quebecois.

Campaign workers distributed more than 5,000 copies of a special election broadsheet. (Excerpts of the LSO program were published in the Oct. 8 Labor Challenge.)

Members and supporters of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/ Young Socialists organized meetings for Leger on seven campuses and CEGEPs (community colleges). In these meetings, Leger, together with campaign manager Paul Kouri, stressed an action program for students to fight the education cutbacks, and the building of a revolutionary socialist youth movement.

The lack of a clear class alternative in the elections on a mass scale, and the growing disenchantment with the Parti Quebecois by important layers of students meant that this year, in contrast to the last Quebec election in 1970, the election did not provoke much interest or debate on campus. Even the PQ had difficulty rallying enthusiastic support in some areas. At the Montreal campus of the Universite du Quebec, for example, PQ MNA Claude Charron spoke to a practically empty hall Oct. 24. Obviously discouraged, Charron castigated students for "preoccupying themselves with Cuba and Chile. It's easier than moving your ass to look after our own affairs here."

Attendance at the Leger campus meetings was modest, varying between 15 and 40 persons. But the students attending were highly critical of the major parties, and notably more open to socialist ideas than in previous contests. Several students who attended these meetings actively involved themselves in the socialist campaign.

The Leger campaign was not limited to student meetings. One of its strong points was the way the LSO intervened in and aided important struggles. Leger marched on the picket line with striking McGill University service workers.

photo by Jeff White

MANON LEGER. Socialist candidate ran against Bourassa.

She joined a demonstration of 1,000 hospital workers protesting the closing of Misericorde Hospital — part of Bourassa's cutback in health and education facilities.

Support for the defense campaign of Dr. Henry Morgentaler was another feature of the Leger effort, as was defense of the victims of the Chile coup. Leger urged Quebecois to rally against the ferocious repression. She and her supporters participated in Chile solidarity rallies, teach-ins and demonstrations. She pointed out that the Allende experience had once again tragically confirmed the need for the working class to struggle for a workers' and farmers' government, and maintain their independence of the capitalists and their political instruments.

The Mideast war broke out during the campaign. Leger was quick to denounce the U.S.-backed aggression, calling for support to "the just struggle of the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples for self-determination and national emancipation."

Socialist views received unprecedented coverage when Leger, Kouri and campaign worker Brenda Zannis appeared for an hour and a half on the popular Montreal radio hot-line program "Coup de Griffe."

In an arbitrary ruling late in the campaign, election authorities forced Leger's name off the ballot. They declared that they had not received a financial statement covering Leger's campaign expenses in her previous candidacy during the 1970 elections. Leger insisted that she had submitted the report, and protested the refusal of the authorities to allow her more time to prove it. Her campaign manager was arrested in the 1970 October crisis, and his files seized. They were never fully returned to him, she explained.

"I sharply denounce this attempt to exclude me from the ballot because of my ideas in order to make the elections the private preserve of the four bourgeois parties. Just like the $200 deposit (required of all candidates), this is a conscious attempt to eliminate all workers' candidates from the election campaign," declared Leger. She called on Mercier voters to write her name on the ballot.

Although the number of those who voted for Leger is not known, (election officials refuse to count write-in ballots), the Leger campaign clearly provided an effective vehicle to reach many Quebecois with the LSO's class-struggle program.

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Women march for Dr. Morgentaler

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

As the trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler for performing illegal abortions moved into its second week, some 200 women and men from across Ontario rallied to his defense at a special session of the women's conference organized by the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS), Oct. 27. The indoor rally and demonstration through the streets of Toronto was a highlight of the weekend conference.

Lorna Grant, a member of the steering committee of the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler and a cross-country coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, set the tone for the rally when she outlined the significance of the victimization of Dr. Morgentaler. "This is an attack, not just against one individual for the actions he has taken. It is an attack on the ideas he holds — the idea that every woman should have access to safe, legal abortion. It is an attack on all women, on our growing consciousness of our right to control our own bodies. It is an attack on the entire feminist movement . . . Will Dr. Morgentaler stand alone, or will he be backed by one of the strongest defence campaigns this country has ever seen? That, is the challenge before us today."

This spirit was picked up by the other speakers at the rally. Dr. Jan Dukszta, NDP member of the Ontario Legislature, reaffirmed NDP support for the repeal of the abortion laws from the Criminal Code and demanded that the charges against Dr. Morgentaler be dropped.

An international note of solidarity was added when a telegram demanding the dismissal of the charges was received from the Movement for Free Abortion and Contraception in France, and when Jack Gazan, president of the Canadian Humanist Association, reported on his efforts to build support for Dr. Morgentaler in Europe.

Marg Manwaring of the Montreal Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, in her report on the actual court proceedings in Montreal, stressed the urgency of building the defence campaign.

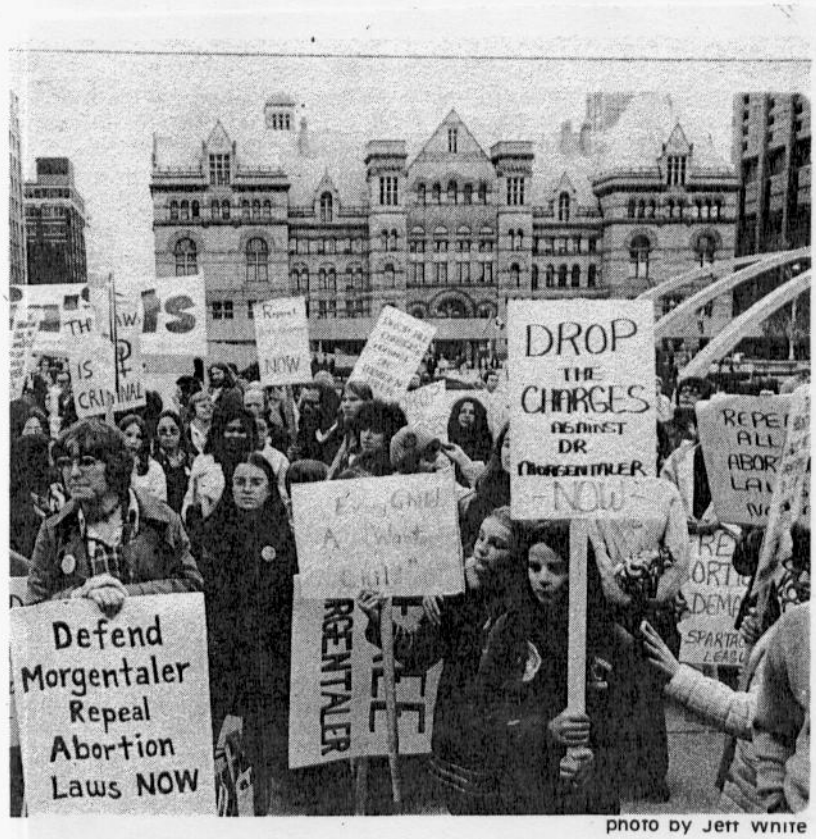

photo by Jeff White

DEFENDING DR. MORGENTALER. Conference session adjourned to stage march through downtown Toronto.

The trial had started Oct. 18 with the prosecution presenting its case on the first of 13 charges before Dr. Morgentaler. The main witness, a patient at Dr. Morgentaler's clinic at the time of the Aug. 15 police raid, testified that she had received an abortion there.

As the trial proceeded, a number of factors came to light which lent a certain sordid character to the prosecution's case. The main witness, a black student from Sierra Leone, had neither landed immigrant status nor Canadian citizenship and testified under the Canada Evidence Act so that her testimony could not be held against her. Two police agents had been present in Dr. Morgentaler's clinic at the time of the police raid, one of them claiming to be in need of an abortion.

The defense had just opened its case. It had not challenged that Dr. Morgentaler had performed the abortion in question. Rather it argued that this was justified on two grounds: first because of necessity, and second because of article 45 of the Criminal Code, which reads "everyone is protected from criminal responsibility for performing a surgical operation on a person for the benefit of that person if 1) the operation is performed with skill and care and 2) if it is reasonable to perform the operation having regard to the state of health of the person at the time the operation was performed." A

→ see next

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300 at student women's conference

by LIS ANGUS

About 300 people attended a public meeting on Oct. 26 in Toronto which featured Linda Jenness, Socialist Worker's Party presidential candidate in last year's U.S. elections, speaking on "The Roots of Women's Oppression."

This meeting was the opening session of a two-day women's conference sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Students, which drew women from across Ontario.

Jenness talked about the importance of knowing the causes of women's oppression, in order to know how to fight that oppression. She pointed out that it is not women's fault that their lives are stifled and restricted, but the fault of a system which is "stacked up against women from top to bottom" — the capitalist system. "This system," she said, "rests on private property and the pursuit of profits, and puts these ahead of human needs; it can't function without oppressing women." She pointed out that although the fights women are carrying on right now against various aspects of their oppression are very important, women's liberation cannot be completely achieved or consolidated without changing the entire system through a socialist revolution.

The second session of the conference was a Saturday morning public meeting and demonstration in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, co-sponsored by the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler. This was a highly successful action drawing many new people into the campaign.

Over the weekend, women participated in lively discussions in three sets of workshops and two plenary sessions. The conference adopted several motions, including support for the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler, support for repeal of the abortion laws and for free contraceptive information and devices, opposition to the cutbacks in educational spending, and support for the struggles for gay rights.

One of the most important discussions of the conference took place around a leaflet introduced into the abortion and birth control workshop entitled "Abortion — yes; Morgentaler — no." This leaflet declared that feminists should not defend Dr. Morgentaler because he is a man — and therefore an enemy of women. A small number of women supported this concept; but after discussion both in the workshop and in plenary, the majority of the conference voted overwhelmingly to support his defense — correctly recognizing that the attack on Dr. Morgentaler is an attack on the women's movement itself.

For many of the 217 women who registered for the whole conference — about half of whom were student women — this was their first feminist activity. Many discussions went on outside the actual sessions of the conference — particularly around the literature tables and at the Saturday night all-women party. Women were eager to buy literature and publications of the women's movement — in particular the new issue of Spokeswoman, published by the Canadian Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal — and socialist publications: the Vanguard Bookstore table sold $40 worth of literature, and a total of 21 subscriptions and 119 single copies of Young Socialist and Labor Challenge were sold.

The final session of the conference was a panel discussion on "Which Way Forward for the Women's Movement." A variety of viewpoints was put forward, including those of Marlene Dixon and Aline Gregory (both well-known individuals in the women's movement) as well as representatives of the Toronto Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women, the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Spartacist League, and Toronto Women's Place.

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temporary decision has been made by the judge allowing the defense to argue the case on this basis.

The OFS conference overwhelmingly agreed that the defense of Dr. Morgentaler in the courts had to be accompanied by a powerful defense movement outside the courts. The rally itself and the spirited demonstration that followed showed how such a movement will be built.

Thus the defense is basing its case on the argument that Dr. Morgentaler was justified in performing abortions because women needed them, since the alternative was all too often mutilation, death or suicide.

photo by Jeff White

MARG MANWARING reported on Morgentaler trial.

Linda Jenness

photo by Jeff White

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B.C. NDP convention

Make Barrett apply women's program

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

VANCOUVER — Compel the Barrett government to implement party policy for women's rights — this is the clear challenge before the Nov. 10-12 convention of the British Columbia New Democratic Party.

Previous conventions of the B.C. NDP have incorporated into the party program a series of far-reaching measures for women's rights, focusing on the issues of the right to abortion, adequate provision of childcare centers, and equal pay for women. Yet the NDP government headed by David Barrett, elected with an overwhelming mandate to implement this program, has refused to act.

Key points of the B.C. NDP's official program promise the following:

- "An NDP government will provide special incentives to ensure equal work for women at equal rates of pay. It will specifically prohibit discrimination because of sex or marital status in recruitment and promotion, dismissal and advertising of jobs."
- "It will also establish free community clinics to provide contraceptive devices, abortions, pre- and post-natal care, and family life information."
- It will provide "free, community-controlled childcare centers available 24 hours a day."
- Other points focus on the need to eliminate restrictive labor laws, a major barrier to winning gains for women workers, and eliminating sexist discrimination in education.

What has the Barrett government done in its first 14 months of office to implement this program?

The B.C. NDP Standing Committee on Women's Rights wrote NDP health minister Dennis Cocke last month to congratulate the government for the decision to grant equal pay for equal work among hospital employees. But the committee noted acidly that "this action is, to date, the **only** aspect of NDP policy on women's rights yet instituted" by the government. Nor have any promises been made for future action.

Barrett's inaction has provoked an angry response in the ranks of the party. Priorities, the widely read newsletter of the NDP Standing Committee on Women's Rights, has voiced the indignation of feminists and NDPers at the Barrett government's betrayal of the cause of women's liberation.

photo by Isolde Belfont

B.C. WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE and more than 30 other women's groups demonstrated Sept. 8, demanding NDP government implement party policies for women's rights.

The NDP women's rights committee has brought pressure to bear on the government for action. It has also contributed to the growth of the women's liberation movement as a whole. In the last analysis, it is the strength of the feminist movement, its independent struggles, and the mass support it mobilizes for its demands, which wrings concessions from unwilling governments.

A Sept. 8-9 conference called by the NDP women's rights committee brought together women from more than 30 women's groups. On Sept. 8, 150 women marched from the conference to the NDP provincial council meeting to confront Barrett with the demand for action on women's rights.

The party leadership has yet to respond to these demands. Instead, there are signs of pressure on the women's rights committee from the party brass, to force it to halt mobilization of public support for the NDP program on this question.

Yvonne Cocke, a vice-president of the B.C. NDP and a member of the committee, criticized the Sept. 8-9 conference and demonstration in the September issue of Priorities as follows: ". . . Delegates felt that the conference was, for the most part, a beef session against the government and the Saturday afternoon confrontation with the Premier strengthened that impression . . .

"Why are we spending time and energy confronting our friends," she asked. "We have a government in B.C. to work with in a spirit of understanding and cooperation. If we hadn't been successful in getting a sympathetic ear, perhaps we'd better re-assess our image."

Yvonne Cocke is wrong to think that a more patient and less militant approach is the way to change the stand of the Barrett government. Such an approach would shackle the NDP women's rights committee, and block it from moving out independently to mobilize the pressure of NDP members and of women across the province for action on women's rights.

Many in the NDP women's rights

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committee have tended initially to give ground to this kind of pressure. The guidelines adopted by the committee's Oct. 13 conference for organizing at the NDP convention concentrated on a number of structural proposals to the government and party, omitting the need to press for legislation on specific demands. The suggestion has been raised that the committee's problem is the presence of militant radicals, rather than the pressure and the hostility of the government.

This approach only weakens the committee, divides its forces, and lets the party brass off the hook. Supporters of women's rights in the B.C. NDP must meet the leadership's refusal to act by a firm and united response: intensifying and broadening the struggle to win their demands.

Just as workers must utilize the trade union movement to force action by Barrett on behalf of labor, women need to organize independently to fight for the demands of the feminist movement. The independence of the NDP Women's Rights Committee, its initiatives to spark discussi n and bring massive pressure to bear on the government, its democratic and non-exclusionist character, are necessary to success in this struggle.

What can we achieve at the Nov. 10-12 convention?

The July 1973 federal convention of the NDP gave an indication of what can be done. The B.C. women's rights committee initiated the formation of a women's caucus, which fought and won resolutions including defense of Dr. Morgentaler, the Montreal doctor facing charges of performing illegal abortions, calling a cross-country conference of NDP women, calling for a women's organizer, and scheduling a half-day debate on women's rights at the next federal convention.

The Nov. 10-12 convention of the B.C. NDP has an even bigger task. The NDP forms the government in British Columbia. This government must be called to order and told to carry out party policy for women's rights.

The convention must not be satisfied with proposals to restructure the government. A women's rights ministry, for example, will be no stronger and no more useful than the laws which it is empowered to implement. New structures to propose legislation or to implement legislation, in themselves, don't solve the problem. Our job is to force the government to act, by passing the legislation which incorporates the basic demands of the women's movement.

The convention must also turn back any attempt to attack the independence and freedom of action of the NDP Standing Committee on Women's Rights.

Above all, the convention must instruct the NDP government to bring down legislation before the next session of parliament to enact the promises of the party program for the right to abortion, to child care centers, and to equal pay and job opportunities for women.

Winning these rights would be a great step forward for the feminist movement, and a meaningful victory in the historic struggle for the liberation of women.

labor Challenge

B.C. Labor, NDP ranks oppose Bill 11

by KEN HALL

VANCOUVER, Oct. 25 — The B.C. NDP government's proposed new labor code, Bill 11, already sharply criticized by the B.C. Federation of Labor (BCFL), is under considerable attack from NDP members, on the eve of the Nov. 10-12 NDP provincial convention.

Following up its early criticisms of Bill 11, (the BCFL statement was published in the Oct. 22 Labor Challenge), the leadership of the federation has recently submitted a list of 16 amendments it wants made to the labor code.

Speaking in the Legislature Oct. 17, NDP MLA Colin Gableman stated that he was prepared to defy the restrictions on picketing included in Bill 11. Gableman pointed out that the new code would outlaw the picket lines set up by the BCFL, around Super-Valu food stores in support of the Grape Boycott of the California Farmworkers. "I intend, if that issue is still alive, to participate in those kinds of picket lines," Gableman told the legislature.

Among NDP organizations that have spoken out against Bill 11 are the Vancouver South NDP executive, Vancouver Burrard constituency association, the three North Shore NDP constituencies and a greater Vancouver regional conference of NDP members.

The Vancouver South executive demanded amendments to include agricultural workers and professionals under the bill, and the right to strike on questions of technological change during the term of a contract. The new Labor Relations Board was felt to have "too many powers in respect to interpretation of the act."

A general meeting of the Burrard NDP constituency on Oct. 17 unanimously passed a strongly-worded motion pointing out that the labor code "contains many clauses which permit the government to interfere in the internal affairs of the trade unions and restrict the fundamental rights of working people to organize, picket and strike in order to defend themselves against their bosses." "Many aspects of Bill 11," the resolution noted, "are in direct contradiction to B.C. NDP policy." The resolution, supported in the meeting by Ron Johnson, research director of the BDFL, declared that the Burrard constituency "1) Supports the B.C. Federation of Labor's present campaign of opposition to the anti-labor features of Bill 11; 2) Supports any initiatives to mobilize New Democrats in action along with the trade union movement to force the government to drastically alter the new labor code; 3) Considers the question of Bill 11 to be of major importance for the Nov. 10-12 convention of the B.C. NDP and pledges to use its resources to help organize New Democrats at the convention to oppose the antilabor parts of Bill 11 in order to force the government to withdraw them and to replace them with legislation protecting the unconditional rights of working people to organize, picket and to use the strike weapon."

The three North Shore NDP constituencies passed a similar resolution in a joint meeting the following night. Another resolution was passed supporting the critical stance of NDP MLAs Colin Gableman and Harold Steeves against the code in the B.C. legislature.

Bill 11 was a topic of discussion among 100 New Democrats at a greater Vancouver regional conference Oct. 20-21, held to prepare for the coming convention. It passed a motion reaffirming past NDP policy on labor legislation. Specifically the gathering expressed support for the right for workers to organize, picket and strike, including the right to strike over issues arising from technological change. Unfortunately, the meeting voted down a resolution similar to those passed by Burrard and North Shore.

The task before the delegates to the Nov. 10-12 B.C. NDP convention is clear. The convention must be unequivocal in its opposition to the restrictive clauses of the labor code. Moreover, it must project the necessity to mobilize the ranks of the NDP and union movement in action to defeat the repressive provisions of Bill 11 and to prevent them being used against the working people of B.C.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS of B.C. trade unionists in 1972 opposed Social Credit antilabor laws. Now NDP government's Bill 11 repeals Socred laws, but imposes new restrictions on labor movement.

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B.C. NDP convention

Force gov't to act in workers' interests

by THE EDITORS

Fourteen months ago, decades of Social Credit rule in B.C. ended with the spectacular victory for the NDP, which won 38 of 55 seats in the August 1972 provincial election. Working people throughout the province greeted the victory as an advance for their interests.

Since its election, the NDP government has brought in some positive legislation, including improvements in the minimum wage and pensions, land control, nationalization of a few small industries, etc. But, for the most part, the potential this government held out to working people has proved to be a cruel disappointment.

It is in this context that the provincial NDP convention meets Nov. 10-12. Will the NDP government in Victoria be allowed to continue its defiance of party policies, democratically adopted in past conventions, or will the party membership force it to enact measures in the interest of working people?

The government has disregarded the party program on women's rights, failing to enact such popular and necessary measures as safe abortion clinics for all women who choose to have abortions; free, 24-hour child care facilities available to all and controlled by those who use them, and effective equal pay legislation to protect working women. The NDP Standing Committee on Women's Rights has campaigned across the province against this government inaction on the pressing needs of women. On Sept. 8, it participated in a demonstration that confronted Premier David Barrett.

More than 100 representatives of tenants' organizations marched on Victoria Sept. 27 to demand changes in the Landlord and Tenant Act, a pro-landlord law passed by the Socreds in 1971. The NDP cabinet, instead of making the immediate changes suggested by tenants' organizations, referred the act to the Socred-appointed Law Reform Commission for lengthy "review."

Now the government is in a serious conflict with organized labor — the main force that put the party into office! For more than a year, the NDP government left the vicious Socred antilabor legislation on the books. Now, with Bill 11, the laws are finally being repealed, but replaced with a labor code that includes dangerous restrictions on labor's rights to organize, strike and picket. (An analysis of Bill 11 and the B.C. Federation of Labor's criticisms of the bill are included in the Oct. 22 Labor Challenge.)

Opposition to Bill 11 is not confined to the BCFL. Already a number of NDP constituency organizations have endorsed the BCFL criticisms of the bill, demanding that the government implement party policy on labor (see article in this issue of Labor Challenge).

NDP VICTORY in August 1972 election has brought few gains for working people.

The Vancouver Province, a mouthpiece for B.C. big business, rushed to Barrett's defense in an Oct. 23 editorial. It attacked the Burrard NDP constituency association for supporting the BCFL stand on Bill 11, and demanded that the government implement party policy on labor. The Province argued that "in our system, when a party becomes a government, it undergoes a subtle change. In effect, it is no longer a party, but the people's government .... Government and party are not synonymous in our system. No government can allow itself to be dictated to by the party."

The message is that the NDP government must ignore radical and anticapitalist planks adopted at party conventions. When the NDP gets elected to office, the Province advises, it has the responsibility to administer "our system" — that is the profit system of MacMillan-Bloedel and Cominco.

This is exactly the policy that David Barrett's government has been following. He doesn't want to represent

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working people in an all-out fight for their rights. Rather he seeks only piecemeal reforms that are generally acceptable to the corporations. The NDP government and party leadership are among the most ardent defenders of the basic institutions of capitalism — the legislature, the courts, the laws (even unjust laws passed by the Socreds). They are dead opposed to any independent mobilization of working people that goes outside parliamentary bounds.

Thus, the "people's government" is accountable to the corporate rulers of B.C. The will of the party and the interests of working people take the back seat.

What is needed is an NDP government committed to fighting skyrocketing prices with cost-of-living escalator clauses in labor contracts, minimum wage, welfare and pension plans; nationalization of the forest industries under workers control; nationalization of the gas and oil corporations operating in B.C., under the control of the workers; a freeze on rents and a massive development of public housing; support to native struggles for sovereignty and land rights; nationalization of B.C. Telephone, under workers' control.

Moreover, the convention should not accept the narrow framework of "provincial jurisdiction," and should make its voice heard on international issues. In particular, the convention should speak out forcefully against Canadian troops going to the Mideast as part of the United Nations "peacekeeping" fraud — actually a denial of the right of the Palestinian and Arab peoples to self-determination. The government should also be instructed to demand that the federal government cease all aid to the military junta in Chile, and offer political asylum to the victims of the terror.

These are only a few of he policies that should be adopted at the convention.

The key tasks before the convention are the fight to change Bill 11 and the fight to implement party policies on women's rights. These are the issues around which party members can be mobilized to compel the government to act in the interests of B.C. working people.

As the last year has shown, convention resolutions are not enough to force the government to act. Party members and trade unionists must be prepared to mobilize the B.C. population in mass actions around these key demands.

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In Brief

SUDBURY WOMAN DEMANDS ABORTION SERVICES

Josette Pernu, Sudbury coordinator of Abortion and Contraceptive Counselling and Related Areas (ACCRA) clashed with Ontario Premier William Davis and Community and Social Services Minister Rene Brunelle at a Conservative party meeting in Sudbury Oct. 13.

Pernu told the meeting that Sudbury's three hospitals refuse to perform abortions except in the most exceptional circumstances — no more than 12 to 15 have been performed in the last year. Of the 192 women Sudbury ACCRA referred for abortions this year, all but one were turned down. Pernu estimated that probably another 200 women who had not come to ACCRA had to leave Sudbury to get abortions.

When Pernu pleaded for improvements in abortion services Davis told her it was something for doctors to decide. Brunelle said, "I stay away from abortions," and advised Pernu to talk to Health Minister Richard Potter — who wasn't at the meeting.

U OF A STUDENTS FIGHT LITERATURE TABLE BAN

The fight on the Edmonton campus of the University of Alberta for the right of student organizations to sell literature in the Student Union Building (SUB) continues. The ban was initiated last summer when campus police, under the personal direction of student union president George Mantor, evicted a Young Socialist literature table from the SUB. The ban was subsequently extended to all campus organizations.

More than a dozen U of A student organizations have called for the immediate repeal of the ban, as have student councils at the University of Toronto, York, British Columbia, and Vancouver City College.

The Edmonton Young Socialists have called for dissolution of the student council-established Committee to Investigate Building Policy which has excluded representation from the YS, and refused to rescind the ban.

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Chile protests continue

by ROBERT SIMMS

The officers of the Chilean junta gave their coup the code name "Jakarta," recalling the 1965 Indonesian massacre of half a million leftists. The generals thus proclaimed their intention to exterminate all political opposition to the continued rule of imperialism and its Chilean henchmen.

Reports in the Argentine and European press indicate that the repression continues unabated weeks after the coup. The number of persons announced shot "while trying to escape" mounted startlingly during October. Summary executions are continuing. Defense efforts on behalf of Chilean political prisoners have continuing urgency.

Defense actions have been undertaken already in several Canadian cities and in Quebec. Student groups, trade unions, and the NDP have taken stands against the coup, calling for an end to the repression.

Feature speakers at a rally of 300 in Vancouver Oct. 12 included Heather Dashner, an American journalist who worked as a translator for the Allende government; Brian Campbell, president of the Vancouver NDP Area Council; and Ron Johnson, research director of the B.C. Federation of Labor (BCFL). The meeting was initiated by the Vancouver NDP Area Council, and the Chile Solidarity Committee.

Hortencia Allende, widow of the murdered president of Chile, will speak in several Canadian cities in mid-November. The tour is being coordinated by Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO). In Toronto a coordinating committee has been established to organize her visit. The committee includes representatives from the Association of Chilean Students, the Chile Solidarity Committee, the Latin American Working Group, the Canadian Committee for Solidarity with Democratic Chile, the University of Toronto Committee for a Democratic Chile, and the York University Committee for a Democratic Independent Chile.

A resolution adopted by the meeting demanded that the Canadian government "withdraw its recognition of the junta and halt all political or economic aid to the military regime," that Canada publicly offer "political asylum to all political refugees from Chile," and open "all records pertaining to Canadian economic and political interests" in Chile, and that all political prisoners be freed.

The impact of the meeting was weakened by the refusal of the Communist party influenced Canadians for Democracy in Chile to respond to an invitation to co-sponsor the meeting, and send a speaker.

Toronto's largest solidarity meeting to date took place Oct. 18, with nearly 400 people attending. The four main speakers were John Rodriguez, NDP MP for Nickel Belt; Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers; Phil Courneyeur, Labor Challenge correspondent, recently returned from Argentina; and Quebec union leader Michel Chartrand.

The meeting was sponsored by the Latin American Working Group, the Students Administrative Council at the University of Toronto, as well as the Chile Solidarity Committee.

Extra effort needed to reach our goal

by GRANT HARGRAVE

Only two weeks are left in our ten-week drive for 2,600 new subscribers to the socialist press. With some areas having registered spectacular results, and far surpassing their quotas, others have fallen behind. We're some 125 subscriptions behind where we should be at this point.

But we know all our supporters across the country are gearing up for that sustained extra effort required to send us over the top by Nov. 13.

The socialist press sells itself. Boosting our subscription base is really only a matter of acquainting the largest possible number of people with the papers. And particularly now, with the rapid pace of world events, and political discussion everywhere.

Subscriptions sell easily at meetings protesting repression in Chile, or rallies in defense of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. And the socialist press is an important builder of those defense movements.

We're sure Labor Challenge sales will be brisk at the British Columbia NDP convention, and that having read the paper many delegates will want to subscribe.

The subscription drive is being carried jointly by the fortnightly Labor Challenge, the youth-oriented monthly Young Socialist, and the French-language socialist monthly, Liberation. The response to our special offer of 8 issues of any of the three papers for $1.00 has been enthusiastic; we're sure our readers appreciate the importance of all three papers, and will want to subscribe to all of them.

If you don't already subscribe, it's time you did. And then you can help us by selling subscriptions to your friends, the people you work or go to school with, or just about anyone. Write us and we'll send you a subscription drive kit so that you can help us put the socialist press in the hands of as many interested people as possible.

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Social Democrat rejects socialism

The poverty of NDP 'theory'

by DENNIS MARLON
and RAY WARDEN

With the article "Toward an NDP Definition" by Desmond Morton in the July-August New Democrat, the Ontario NDP's newspaper, the NDP right wing has responded to the growing interest in theory on the Canadian left. Following the article's appearance, a series of lectures on a similar theme was launched in Toronto, featuring leaders of the NDP in the role of "theoreticians." The lecture series is to be published in book form in the spring.

In "Toward an NDP Definition" Morton, former assistant provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP, and now history professor at the University of Toronto, rambles on for about 500 lines attempting to distinguish the NDP "from the parties to our right and, just as important, from organizations which also claim to be on the left." He succeeds only in showing the poverty of what today passes for "theory" in the NDP's ruling circles.

Desmond Morton

In Morton's view, the NDP is not "socialist" unless socialism is understood as a "purely ethical concept." Rather it is "Social-Democratic," occupying "a perfectly respectable and understood position among the Social Democrats" like the German, Austrian, New Zealand, British and other Social-Democratic parties.

From beginning to end, Morton views the NDP through the eyes of the right wing clique which controls the party. He defines the NDP in the image of its leaders, happily oblivious it would seem, to socialists in the party, and the opinions of the party's rank and file.

"Many socialists work cheerfully within the NDP," Morton remarks. But they have a legitimate place in the party, he seems to be saying, only in so far as they don't attempt to "short-circuit the process" of social change as understood by the brass who aim to change the world "by slowly changing values and attitudes."

But what is the nature of the Social Democracy which Morton proselytizes for and the party leadership has imposed on the NDP?

From the start Morton rejects socialism, which he defines as "public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." Rather he opts for "functional socialism" on the Swedish model, the "economic and social pluralism" of a mixed economy. The commitment of the 1933 Regina Manifesto to the eradication of capitalism, in the CCF's first programmatic statement, is dismissed as "false advertising," even though socialism was no doubt the serious objective of many of the early CCF's founders, however naive they may have been as to how capitalism might be replaced.

While assuring his readers that Social Democrats see that "the enemy is the system itself," he nowhere offers any fundamental criticism of capitalism. The process of social change he conceives in purely gradualist terms, New Democrats intervening as social engineers in accordance with such ethical principles as "liberty," "equality" and "fraternity of the human race" — once revolutionary slogans which have become part of the empty rhetorical baggage of every Social Democrat. He places a complacent faith in the progress of man and society — "slowly improving values and attitudes" — with apparently no ruptures in social continuity, and no roadblocks which cannot be overcome if one is patient enough.

Morton professes his confidence in man's "reason and inspiration" but it is the reason of a technician or tinkerer. After all, he writes, "when you venture into such uncharted territory as the future without the convenience of a blue-print, bible or map, you must assume there will be sufficient intelligence available to solve the unexpected problems." For rigorous theory he would substitute an eclectic mishmash of "Myrdal, Shaw, Keynes and Galbraith, to mention a scant few."

"The work of Karl Marx," writes Morton, "may be an impressive collection of insights into the evolution of 19th century political and economic systems but it is not a secular bible from which we can chart our lives and thoughts." Along with Marxism he rejects any systematic attempt to understand world history, and the process of social change. Condemning Marxism as "doctrinaire," he is firmly wedded to pragmatism, which he makes into a dogma.

Morton's pragmatism is well suited to the NDP and trade union leadership, whose practice reflects its accommodation with capitalism, and which labels "impractical" demands from the ranks for an-

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photo by Werner Stein

NDP CONVENTION, July, 1973. Party leaders impose their program and philosophy on the NDP.

ticapitalist action. But pragmatism is incapable of a scientific understanding of historical development, and provides no guide to changing the world. Indeed it rejects such a project in principle.

Marxism is not a "blue-print, bible, or a map;" rather it is based on a method of understanding history, and through that understanding, effectively intervening to change society. Marxism recognizes class struggle as the motive force in history; it sees capitalism as wrought with class antagonisms which the system is incapable of resolving. The capitalists, whose parasitic existence depends on their expropriation of the product of the working people's labor, stand as a fundamental barrier to human progress. Workers and capitalists confront each other as irreconcilable enemies — whatever the intervention of Social Democrats as mediators.

The problems confronting the mass of working people are rooted in the foundations of the capitalist system — their universality within world capitalism should be proof enough. Production based on the anarchic and ruthless pursuit of profit creates the international scourges of poverty, unemployment, inflation and pollution.

War, and the ever-present threat of nuclear annihilation are the product of international capitalist rivalry and the unequenchable thirst for profits which drives imperialism to the exploitation of the colonial world.

The problems besetting working people under capitalism cannot be resolved by patching up the system, or rearranging its component parts. The prevailing system of productive relations stands as a barrier to overcoming exploitation and oppression — it must be overturned. The rule of capital must be replaced by the conscious self-government of the working class.

The need for socialist revolution is shown by science and proven through the experience of the Russian revolution and workers' revolutions since. History has proven also that capitalism will not allow itself to be replaced through a series of gradual reforms; it responds with the most ferocious means at its disposal when it feels its interests threatened by the growth of mass movements for social change. That is the lesson of the War Measures Act, and of the coup in Chile.

According to Morton, a Social Democrat is "committed to pressing for the changes that the whole of society is willing to accept." But for the NDP leaders the "whole of society" is defined by the ruling class; the Social Democrats attempt to accommodate the interests of the working class and the oppressed to the prevailing system. That after all, is the record of the NDP leaders, who will only take far-reaching measures under the massive pressure of the ranks of the party and the labor movement as a whole, and everywhere attempt to detour and derail the mass movement.

In contrast to the NDP leaders, who consistently adapt their program to capitalist "public opinion," socialists in the party fight for adoption of policies which, based on the real needs of working people, lead them forward in struggle against the capitalist system.

Desmond Morton imposes his own exclusive definition on the NDP. In doing so he speaks for the NDP leadership, who in practice stamp Social Democracy on the labor party. But Morton and the bureaucrats who control the party do not own it. As the party of labor in Canada, through which the working class has moved toward political action independent of big business and its parties, it is an acquisition of all the working people. And on that basis it is supported by revolutionary socialists.

In the last instance the ranks of labor will not be deceived by the Social Democrats' highsounding rhetoric; even less will they accept pragmatism as an excuse for inaction. They may suffer from some of the illusions which Desmond Morton elevates to the realm of theory, but they support the party as an alternative to the capitalist parties, and they expect solutions from their party to the problems they face.

That is the essential tension which is inherent in the NDP. In search for solutions to the problems created by capitalism, the ranks of labor are inevitably driven into conflict with bureaucrats who are wedded to the status quo. It is through struggling for their real interests within the NDP that the ranks of the party will come to understand the barrier to social change constituted by the Social-Democratic leadership.

Through the same process, they will come to the alternative presented by the revolutionary Marxists, both inside and outside the NDP, to the betrayals justified by Desmond Morton's theories.

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A victory for women'

JURY ACQUITS DR. MORGENTALER

DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION. Montrealers picket courthouse Oct. 16 as Dr. Morgentaler (inset) went before the courts. Defense actions were key to winning his acquittal on charges of performing an illegal abortion.

photo by Don Tapscott

by THE EDITORS

NOV. 14 — "This is a victory for the women of Canada," declared Dr. Henry Morgentaler yesterday, after the Quebecois jury in his Montreal trial declared him not guilty of performing an illegal abortion.

Dr. Morgentaler was cheered by feminists and well-wishers in the courtroom after the verdict was announced. But elsewhere, reactionary forces denounced the decision. A leading anti-abortion figure, Conservative MP Douglas Roche exclaimed: "Good God, I'm really shocked! This is awful. It makes me sick!" Justice minister Otto Lang refused to comment.

The verdict marks an important victory for the thousands of Canadians who have participated in the cross-country defense campaign for Dr. Morgentaler. It is the first step in the fight to turn back the attempt to railroad him to jail for his open defiance of the abortion law, and his outspoken support for women's right to abortion.

The jury's decision was a reflection of the broad support for Dr. Morgentaler and opposition to the abortion law across the country. The support has

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Behind Canada's 'energy crisis'

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Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: GRANT HARGRAVE

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Editorial

Keep up pressure for abortion rights

See trial report, p. 3

reached mass proportions in Quebec, where the three union federations, as well as feminist groups and student organizations have rallied to his defense. Committees to Defend Dr. Mortentaler have been established in cities across Canada, organizing demonstrations, rallies and meetings to publicize the case. In July, the NDP federal convention voted to support the defense effort. On Nov. 13, hours before the verdict was announced, the Ontario Federation of Labor called for the dropping of charges against Dr. Morgentaler, and repeal of the abortion law.

Morgentaler's defense put the abortion law on trial, exposing its injustice and inhumanity to women. The case was based on Article 45 of the Criminal Code, which gives doctors the right to perform operations "having regard to the state of health of the person at the time the operation is performed and to all the circumstances of the case." The defense argued that Dr. Morgentaler was justified in performing the abortion in question because the health and well-being of the woman concerned required it.

"This verdict strips away the veil of hypocrisy surrounding our abortion law," said defense counsel Claude-Armand Sheppard, summing up the significance of the case. If the decision is upheld, it will strike a powerful blow at the present restrictive

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law and give new impetus to the movement to wipe the law off the books.

The fight is not over. The prosecution has already announced that it will appeal the verdict. And additional charges still stand against Dr. Morgentaler. Thus, the fight for the dropping of all charges against Dr. Morgentaler and for repeal of the law must be continued and stepped up.

Gwen Taylor, of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, said that the group will "really pressure the government now" for repeal of the law and dropping the remaining charges against Dr. Morgentaler.

She called the court decision "a real indication of where it's at .... It's the law that is criminal, not Dr. Morgentaler."

Action needed to save Chilean prisoners' lives

We will, perhaps, never know the full extent of the repression now sweeping Chile. The military junta is doing its utmost to conceal from world opinion the bloody terror it has unleashed. But it is certain that thousands have been murdered, that thousands more are being held in prisons and concentration camps, that all democratic rights have been crushed.

No supporter of democratic rights can sit idly by and watch this take place. An international campaign must be waged against the repression in Chile, and in particular for the release of the political prisoners, all of whom live from day to day under threat of execution.

This campaign must be organized to include every opponent of the repression, regardless of their opinions on other questions.

Unfortunately, in Canada today the building of such a campaign has scarcely begun. In part this is due to lack of knowledge among Canadians about the situation in Chile. But the real responsibility for the slow start rests on the shoulders of groups which have failed in their responsibilities towards the Chilean people.

The Communist party of Canada, which was the main force involved in launching the "Canadian Committee for Solidarity with Democratic Chile," has largely limited itself to public meetings mourning Allende's death, or expressing "Homage to Free Chile." It has, as well, excluded from its committees and activities all those who disagree with the Communist party's uncritical support of the Allende government — in particular the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action.

At the same time the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), which claims to be Trotskyist, has attempted, in the words of its newspaper, to build committees "based on a clear position of support to the Chilean workers' movement and the armed struggle which it faces." (Old Mole, November 1973) In practice the RMG attempts to impose on the defense movement its particular program for the Chilean people. This limits the movement to those who accept that program.

The approaches of both the Communist party and the RMG can only weaken the campaign for support to the Chilean people against the repression. What are needed are not abstract words about "Homage" or "armed struggle," but actions which can actually weaken the repressive forces in Chile and win freedom for the political prisoners.

The campaign should take as its model the international campaign which saved the life of Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco during the 1960s, and later won his release from prison. That campaign united thousands of people the world round, people who disagreed with Blanco on many questions, people who disagreed with each other on many questions, but all people who agreed on opposition to the political repression in Peru. A similar campaign won freedom for Regis Debray in Bolivia.

Elsewhere in this issue we are reprinting an appeal issued by the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. CCJLAPP calls for actions to publicize the situation of political prisoners in Chile, and to win support for their release. In our opinion this campaign should be the focus of the activities of opponents of the repression in Chile.

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Abortion laws put on trial

by LIS ANGUS

NOV. 12 — "Never in the memory of the trial reporter," writes Claude Jodoin in the Nov. 10 Journal de Montreal, "has one seen two such radically incompatible theories counterposed as in the trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, accused of having performed an illegal abortion last Aug. 15."

Testimony and arguments in the trial which went to the jury today have gone far beyond the question of whether Dr. Morgentaler actually performed the abortion he is accused of — which is not disputed by the defense. The defense has succeeded in turning the tables on the Crown to in effect put the abortion law itself on trial. The defense has argued for a woman's right to abortion, forcing the Crown to try to justify the present restrictive law.

The law makes it illegal for a woman to have an abortion — or a physician to perform one — unless it is decided by a committee of doctors at an accredited or approved hospital that the abortion is necessary to safeguard the health of the woman.

Dr. Morgentaler is now on trial for the first of thirteen charges under this law. If convicted, he faces up to life imprisonment, and automatic expulsion from the medical profession.

If his defense succeeds, Canada's anti-abortion law will be dealt a serious blow — and the growing abortion law repeal movement, out to wipe that law off the books, will be greatly advanced.

This trial has aroused strong reactions from both sides of the abortion debate; it is the focus of a head-on confrontation between the abortion rights movement and anti-abortion forces.

Feminists have jammed the courtroom throughout the three weeks of the trial, demonstrations of several hundred people have picketed outside the courtroom to support Dr. Morgentaler, and supporters across Canada have organized a defense campaign to publicize the case.

So-called "Right to Life" groups have flooded local newspapers with anti-abortion letters. Catholic priests have denounced Dr. Morgentaler from their pulpits. One Dominican priest called him a mass murderer and defied the trial judge to cite him for contempt of court.

The Crown's first witness was "Ms. X" (her name may not be used outside the courtroom), who testified that Dr. Morgentaler had performed an abortion for her in his Montreal clinic.

Ms. X is 26 years old, a single black woman from Africa. She is in Canada on a student visa, and has applied for immigrant status. She is living on $200 a month, and is not covered by medicare. She wished to keep her family from learning of her pregnancy.

It is not hard to speculate on some of the pressures the prosecution could have brought to bear on her to induce her to testify in this trial.

Ms. X, on discovering that she was pregnant, decided after considerable deliberation that as a young, single student without a secure income she could not take on the responsibilities for bearing and rearing a child.

She contacted several hospitals, who were either too expensive or could not give her an appointment until much later in her pregnancy. (She was already six weeks pregnant.) Two of them recommended Dr. Morgentaler's clinic to her.

She testified that the anxiety about her unwanted pregnancy and the problem of getting an abortion was making it difficult for her to eat properly or continue her studies.

Dr. Morgentaler performed the abortion for her on Aug. 15 for $80. However, that was the day which the Quebec police chose to raid the clinic. The raid took place only a few minutes after Ms. X's abortion; before she was able to obtain any medication or further advice.

She was held in police custody for several hours, then given a painful internal examination and taken home. Several days later she developed abdominal pain and a temperature of 104 degrees. The police took her to Royal Victoria Hospital, where she was given a curettage.

Dr. Hilary Bourne, senior gynecologist at the Royal Victoria, later testified that the abortion had been well done; that the curettage revealed no infection or complications and that she could have been treated at home. (However, she was kept at the hospital for six days, leaving with a medical bill of $700.)

The Crown introduced witnesses to try to show that Dr. Morgentaler was not a fully competent doctor. However, on cross-examination such witnesses were either discredited or their testimony tended to reveal the opposite, that he is a reliable and respected physician. The defense called several witnesses who emphasized the quality of care received by women in his clinic, and the high regard in which Dr. Morgentaler is held by his colleagues. After this the prosecution conceded that Dr. Morgentaler's skill and competence as an abortionist is not in question.

Defense lawyer Claude Sheppard began by stating that he would not dispute that Dr. Morgentaler had performed the abortion but that he would base his case on the necessity of the abortion for the woman's health, and on section 45 of the Criminal Code.

This section reads in part, under the heading "Surgical Operations": "Everyone is protected from criminal responsibility for performing a surgical operation upon any person for the benefit of that person if (a) the operation is performed with reasonable care and skill and (b) it is reasonable to perform the operation, having regard to the state of health of the person at the time the operation is performed and to all circumstances of the case."

Judge James K. Huggessen has allowed this section to be introduced as part of the defense case.

Witnesses called by the defense defined "health" in broad terms according to the definition by the World Health Organization: "a sensation of well-being on a physical, psychological, and even a socio-economic plane."

A series of expert witnesses testified that it was in the interests of a woman's health that she be allowed to make the decision as to whether or not to have an abortion, and that her decision should be respected by her physician.

Dr. Augustine Roy, Registrar of the Quebec College of Medicine, stated that he had referred women to Dr. Morgentaler's clinic. He also testified that Dr. Morgentaler has invited representatives of the College to visit his clinic; the executive has voted to do so, but is waiting until the trial is over.

Dr. Jacques MacKay, a psychiatrist and Director of Professional Services at Hopital Riviere des Prairies, stated that the possible consequences for a woman

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photo by Jeff White

"DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST DR. MORGENTALER" said women's organizations, NDP, unions. Above, participants in Ontario Federation of Students women's conference march through downtown Toronto Oct. 27.

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who is refused an abortion include psychosis, and attempted or successful suicide. Moreover, she is almost sure to suffer long-term psychological consequences.

All the expert witnesses were presented a "hypothetical" case which was based on the details of Ms. X's experience, and asked if in their opinion an abortion was necessary. All of them stated definitely that they thought it was.

Dr. Morgentaler testified also in his own behalf. He described how in 1967 he presented a brief for the Humanist Association of Canada to the federal government, which argued for reform of the abortion law on the grounds that a woman who wants an abortion must have the possibility to procure it from a competent doctor.

After this, he said, women who knew his views began to call him to ask his assistance. At first he refused, but then he decided that to refuse was to be cowardly and hypocritical; he decided to do his duty as a doctor and assist women seeking safe abortions.

He did so on the basis of these principles: that no woman would be refused an abortion for lack of money; that he would perform abortions under the best conditions, in a clean, bright, and well-equipped clinic; and that the dignity of the women would be preserved, with no back-alley atmosphere.

He further stated that, in his opinion, an abortion for Ms. X was reasonable, necessary, and even indispensible. "I believe I protected her health, her life, and that I did my duty as a doctor." When questioned as to whether he had persuaded her to have the abortion, he said, "I neither persuaded nor dissuaded her. I am not there to make the decision for her."

The Crown called another series of witnesses to counter the arguments of the defense. These witnesses displayed a cynical anti-abortion, anti-woman attitude.

One of these witnesses, a Dr. Bellefeuille, stated that a woman who wants an abortion is in a panic, is not reasonable and cannot make a reasonable decision. He stated that if a woman came to him for an abortion (which has never happened, as he is a pediatrician) he would show her pictures of children, tell her of the great risks involved in abortion and of the guilt feelings that follow.

And a Dr. Ryan offered the opinion that "If she's worried about being pregnant, she has only to buy a wedding ring."

In his summation, defense attorney Sheppard reviewed what he felt was proven: that Ms. X's abortion was justified, medically necessary and perfectly legal according to section 45 of the Criminal Code.

He reviewed some of the testimony of the Crown — particularly the opinion of the prosecutions' last witnesses, that the decision about an abortion must be the doctor's, not the patient's; and the statement of one witness, that "after all, she made love, now she has to bear the responsibilities."

Sheppard recalled the testimony which underlined how bad it was for a woman's health — as defined by the World Health Organization — for a doctor to impose such a decision on her. "Why is it always the woman who must pay?" he asked. "A woman is not a machine to bear children — above all not a child she doesn't want."

Crown Attorney Robichaud's summation also ranged broader than the specific case at hand. He objected to a defense based on section 45, because "it implies abortion on demand" while the abortion law prohibits abortion on demand. "Where does it lead, if one accepts that we can transgress laws we don't agree with?" He stated that the majority supports the "existing laws of the land" and is opposed to abortion on demand; that it is only a "loud minority" which wants to change this law, and this minority wants to impose themselves on a "silent majority."

He stated that the only question the jury had to decide on was whether under the evidence submitted Dr. Morgentaler had broken the law.

Defense attorney Sheppard asked, "Does Morgentaler behave like an abominable criminal? On the contrary: he operates in the open and he is proud of his actions. He has the courage to do what other doctors fear to do."

B.C. NDP rebukes government

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by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER, Nov. 12 — In a stinging rebuke to the NDP government headed by premier David Barrett, the B.C. NDP convention here voted Nov. 11 to instruct the government to amend its new labor code to bring it into line with party policy. By a vote of 322 to 290, the convention upheld established party policy over the government's Bill 11, which places restrictions on labor's rights.

The Barrett government's outright defiance of party policy on labor was the key issue at the Nov. 10-12 convention. For more than a year, after its August 1972 election the government left the notorious Social Credit antilabor laws on the books. Bill 11, passed by the legislature Oct. 29, repeals the Socred laws, but includes other restrictions on union organization, strikes and picketing.

The effect of the new legislation was dramatized Nov. 10, the first day of the convention, when 150 delegates picketed a Super Valu store near the convention site in solidarity with the United Farm Workers Union boycott of scab-harvested grapes and lettuce. BCFL president George Johnston led the picketers, in defiance of a court injunction against picketing granted Super Valu under the Socred legislation. Bill 11 would also outlaw picketing in support of the boycott.

"Do we like grapes? No! Do we like Super Valu? No! Do we like Bill 11? No!" the picketers chanted, as plain clothes police handed them copies of the court order. Police later invaded the lobby of the convention hotel to arrest Joe Killoran, a delegate from Burrard NDP, for allegedly assaulting a Super Valu official.

The convention struggle against Bill 11 was spearheaded by a caucus, "New Democrats for the Labor Policy Committee's Resolution." This resolution instructed the provincial government to amend the Labor Code to bring it into line with previously established party policy. This includes the full right to assemble and to picket; the right to bargain on all questions of technological change and automation; and the right to strike during a collective agreement.

The delegates' labor committee circulated a leaflet in solidarity with the Labor Policy Committee resolution at the beginning of the convention, signed by more than 40 well-known New Democrats, among them Burrard MLA Rosemary Brown; Richmond MLA Harold Steves; provincial executive members Joyce Meissenheimer, Wayne Bradley, Dennis Mulroney and Garth Brown; provincial treasurer Roger Howard; and BCFL Research Director, Ron Johnson.

The labor committee fielded Vancouver Burrard secretary Ed Livingston for the party presidency. He got 179 votes to incumbent president Frank Murphy's 402. Livingston centered his speech on the necessity to implement party policy on labor rights.

"Bill 11 is the legislation that Premier Barrett and Labor minister King said would be 'broadly acceptable to management and labor,' " Livingston said.

"It is not surprising that the corporation bosses have found it generally acceptable. But as it stands now it **cannot** be acceptable to us, to members of this party, to members of the trade-union movement and to the working people of B.C. . . .

"We want the government elected by us to quit holding hands with big business and take decisive action in the interests of the working people of British Columbia," he concluded.

The Labor Policy Committee resolution came to the convention floor Sunday afternoon. In the heated debate that followed, three cabinet ministers, including Labor minister William King, were booed and hissed by the delegates.

Centering his speech on the necessity of restrictions on picketing, King told the delegates that adoption of the Labor Policy Committee resolution would effectively "junk Bill 11." He said the new legislation allows the unions to accomplish their end "through law rather than with economic muscle." If restrictions on picketing were removed, the result would be "complete bloody chaos."

Nearly a dozen delegates, most of them representing trade unions, took to the mikes to defend party policy from King's attack.

"All we ask of the government is that it get rid of those bloody laws," declared Bruce Elphinstone of the International Woodworkers of America Political Education Committee. "It's only party policy."

"Which side are we on?" argued

As well as intervening on the convention floor and helping build the "New Democrats for the Labor Policy Committee's Resolution" caucus, members and supporters of the League for Socialist Action also made their presence felt through a leaflet, literature sales, and sales of the socialist press. At the convention, 143 copies of Labor Challenge, 43 copies of Young Socialist and 33 subscriptions to the two papers were sold. Seventy-five copies of the League for Socialist Action brief to the NDP caucus Commission on Women's Rights were sold, as well as $65 worth of Trotskyist books and pamphlets.

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photo by Werner Steinmetz

NDP DELEGATES dealt Barrett government sharp rebuke, repudiating Bill 11 which restricts labor's rights.

provincial executive member Joyce Meissenheimer, "We did not elect a government to sit as a referee between management and labor. We elected it to legislate on the side of labor."

BCFL president George Johnston summed up the question before the delegates: "The issue is: are they or aren't they going to implement NDP policy."

But Barrett and King have made clear they aren't, despite the firm restatement of party policy with passage of the convention resolution. King said he did not foresee any changes in the code, and regarded the vote only as an indication of the need for more education on the issue in the party.

Barrett concurred with his Labor minister, saying he was "not disturbed" by the vote.

But it is clear that a sharp fight is brewing between the labor movement and the NDP government on this issue. By the convention vote, the NDP rank and file have declared what side they are on.

A further indication of the radical mood of the delegates were resolutions passed demanding nationalization of B.C. forest and resource industries.

In contrast to last year's convention, the NDP women's rights committee failed to make a significant impact on the convention.

Delegates spent less than half an hour of the convention plenary discussing women's rights. Resolutions favorable to hiring a woman's organizer, and endorsing an "affirmative action program" favorable to increased government employment of women — made priorities by the women's rights committee — were passed without much controversy.

Free, 24-hour child care was reaffirmed as party policy by the convention. But this demand, along with other measures in the party program — including abortion clinics and equal pay legislation for women workers — will no doubt continue to be ignored by the government unless women are organized to force their implementation.

Defenders of democratic rights in Chile received support from the convention. Some 40 participants in the Super Valu picket Saturday marched to the federal passport office to greet about 20 members of the Chile Solidarity Committee, who had occupied the offices to protest the federal government's refusal to grant asylum to Chilean political regugees.

On Nov. 11, the convention heard Anna Maria Quiroz, a Chilean studying in Vancouver, and a member of the Chile Solidarity Committee, who appealed to the delegates to defend victims of repression in Chile. Her speech received a standing ovation.

Delegates voted unanimously to demand that the Canadian government end recognition and refuse aid to the military junta, grant asylum to political refugees, use all available means to pressure the junta to end the terror, and demand the resignation of Canadian ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross.

As the convention wound up its deliberations, continued activities to force the government to implement party policy on labor were projected. A labor committee leaflet distributed to delegates characterized the convention vote as "a victory for the working people of British Columbia."

But, the leaflet noted, "there is no indication that these changes will be made. This means that the fight against the restrictive clauses has only just begun . . . . It will take a combined campaign of the membership of the labor movement and the NDP over the next months to ensure that the government acts on this question and that working people in this province are not victimized in any way by this legislation."

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Courneyeur tour built Chile defense actions

Phil Courneyeur

Labor Challenge correspondent Phil Courneyeur is back in Toronto after completing a two-month international assignment covering more than 15,000 miles.

The first leg of the tour took him to Argentina to report on the presidential election campaign which saw Juan Peron elected. Courneyeur covered the highly successful campaign of the Argentine Trotskyists, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), who took advantage of the elections to enormously expand on their daily work of building a mass revolutionary socialist party. Courneyeur's reports were published in the American socialist weekly, The Militant, as well as in Labor Challenge.

He also reported on the reaction in Argentina to the Chilean military coup, and on the efforts of the PST in building the movement against the military repression in Chile. He was able to discuss with Latin American socialists the lessons of the coup.

On his return to Canada, Courneyeur went on a three-week speaking tour which took him to ten Canadian cities, and one American university. His meetings aimed to build Canadian protests against the coup in Chile as well as to have him report on recent developments in the Argentine class struggle.

In both Vancouver and Edmonton, Courneyeur was interviewed by CBC radio on the repression in Chile and how Canadians can aid victims of the coup.

At the State University of Western Washington in Bellingham, Courneyeur participated in a teach-in on Chile where he was invited to put forward the viewpoint of the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, on the reasons for the coup and Allende's downfall.

Teachers fight cutbacks

About 10,000 students from 28 Toronto-area high schools marched on the Ontario Legislature Nov. 13 to protest the government's cutbacks in education. The march was the culmination of a week of rotating marches and strikes in schools across the city.

The student actions were sparked in part by the current "work to rule" campaign of Metro Toronto's 7,800 teachers who are attempting to win a decent contract from the school board.

CUTBACKS PROTEST. 10,000 Toronto high school students protest government cutbacks in education Nov. 13.

Metro Toronto members of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) have voted over 90 percent to threaten mass resignations and strike action this winter to back their contract demands.

The main issue in negotiations is class size. Many classes have more than 40 students, and teachers lack time to prepare classes properly. The OSSTF is demanding that 389 teachers who were laid off last year be rehired.

In addition to their wage demands, the teachers are defending their cost of living clause against the board's attempt to remove it.

The teachers, struggling to defend their job conditions and their standard of living, have been in the front lines of the fight by government workers against the cutbacks in social services of the last few years.

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In Brief

SPANISH POLICE ARREST ANTI-FRANCO LEADERS

Spanish police raided a meeting in the parish house of a Roman Catholic church in Barcelona on Oct. 28, arresting 113 leading opponents of the Franco regime.

According to the Oct. 30 issue of Le Monde, those arrested "are suspected of belonging to the permanent commission of the Assembly of Catalonia." The first (illegal) meeting of the assembly in 1971 adopted an action program of democratic demands.

On Oct. 31 Le Monde reported that those arrested included lawyers, professors, presidents of professional colleges, and members of the liberal professions. The New York Times reported that 113 were arrested and 30 have already been given fines from $3,500 to $6,200. The Times also reported that "there has been no big upsurge of protest against the arrests up to now. The government has also played down the affair, even forbidding the Barcelona press to report the arrests on the first night."

Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, is a center of what the Times termed the "democratic opposition" to the Franco dictatorship, which, it stated, "groups such ordinarily inimical elements as Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, dissident monarchists, regionalists and extreme leftist Maoist and Trotskyist groups."

BANQUETS CELEBRATE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists cosponsored banquets in Toronto and Vancouver Nov. 11 to celebrate the 56th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

More than 150 people attended the Toronto banquet to hear Doug Jenness, New York organizer of the Socialist Workers Party speak on "Russia 1917 and Chile 1973 — the lessons." Other after-dinner speakers were Al Cappe and John Riddell, executive secretaries of the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action respectively. Kate Alderdice was chairwoman. Kathy Dalton's fund appear raised $1800. The money will go toward the international work of the League, and to sustain a special full-time organizer for the Young Socialists.

The 90 people attending the Vancouver banquet heard veteran revolutionist Ruth Bullock speak on the history of the Trotskyist movement, and Vancouver LSA organizer Jacquie Henderson on the meaning of the Russian Revolution. A special feature of the Vancouver banquet was the showing of an interview with the Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco. The interview was filled in Chile a short time before the coup.

Master of Ceremonies Larry Panych centered his appeal for funds on the importance of building the world Trotskyist movement. Net proceeds from the banquet were over $600.

(Found in early 1974 - R. Dawson annotations)

(62)

Teacher power and what it can mean.

Today Ontario teachers have taken an historic step forward. For the first time, teachers from all the Federations stand together in united, militant action to defend their rights. This action is important for all working people in the province.

Despite slanders of "intimidation" and "mob rule" aimed against teachers by Education Minister Wells, every teacher knows that today's action results from prolonged government attacks on teachers. The latest outrage was Bill 274. Teachers had to act or lose even their few remaining rights.

Bill 274 - what it shows

Bill 274 (and Bill 275) are aimed at the only really effective weapon teachers have to fight the cutbacks in educational spending-the right to withdraw services by resignation or strike. These bills flow out of, and are directly linked to, the fight of teachers to defend the quality of education and the jobs, teaching conditions, and income of teachers in Ontario.

The anti-teacher, anti-labor character of this government is becoming clear to all. Cutbacks in education, hospital spending and other vital social services are combined with generous handouts and tax loopholes for the giant corporations, the "corporate bums" as federal NDP leader, David Lewis, has named them. This is a big business government. Like the Liberal government in Ottawa which supports these cutbacks, it is an anti-labor government. But teachers are refusing to accept these attacks. They are showing that united mass action can win allies, isolate the government, and turn back the attacks.

Union power vs the Government

That is why the government has attempted to block the mass resignations of teachers through Bill 274, and why Bill 275 includes a ban on the right to strike. To fight cutbacks effectively, teachers need union rights, above all the right to strike. To the fight against cutbacks has been added the fight for union rights.

over

United front of all public workers

The teachers are not fighting for themselves alone. Their struggle represents the interests of students, parents and tens of thousands of public workers. Teachers can win the support of students and parents if they explain this. Thousands of public workers are facing the same kind of problems as teachers. Support for today's action has come from organizations such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Civil Service Association of Ontario, the hospital workers union, etc. Today's unity in action should become permanent. Teachers can lead the way if their federations call on all these allies and potential allies to join in common committees in every area across Ontario.

For a Government of the Working People

In British Columbia, faced with cutbacks imposed by the big business Social Credit government, teachers played an important role in throwing out the Socreds and helping to push the NDP to power. Teachers will face a similar choice in Ontario. The NDP is a labor party based on the unions, and it advocates greater rights for teachers and all working people. The NDP should be urged to give the fullest support to teachers in this struggle. In the next elections, a vote for the NDP is a vote for labor and against the parties of the corporate rich.

But more is required. No wage gains and no union rights can be secure as long as the economy and the society are controlled by the tiny minority of "corporate bums" and run in their interests. A government of working people must be established which will place the corporate wealth in the hands of the immense majority -the working people- to serve their needs. Then, and only then, will education-quality education-be a right and not a faucet to be turned on or off to meet big business needs. This is the goal of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

FIND OUT MORE ABOUT THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS:

In Toronto, call 363-9618 or visit us at 334 Queen St. W., near Spadina.

In Ottawa, call 232-2171 or visit 308C O'Connor St.

December 4, 1973
40 Howewood Ave #2311
Toronto M4Y 2k2

Dear Cynthis and Maurice;

Just a note that I have been held up from sending off by the pressure of a whole series of political developments and the slowness of the CO to get ut out my contribution on the Women's Ministry

Well my contribution is out. Jacquie and John must both have copies. I d do not know how the leadership is going to handle it--there have been two pe meetings since and it has not been dealt with. I raised the matter at the last last meeting --referred itshandling to the burea so we would at least get a report. My contribtion on Canadian unionis m came out almost two months ago and has not been dealt with. I do not know that Jacquie will show it to you ,Isolde or anyone else. So I will somehow get another copy and sent it to you for your so le personal information. When I referred it to the burea I seem to recall that Phil expressed the view that it dealt largely with journalism, style, or something like that. Their most aggressive man on the PC, now that Dick is away mxmxmk Dennis L txmxx claimed that this difference unlik other criticisms I have made of the paper involves principle. And of course that is what is behind thei r cryptic paragraph n on the state. They think the ministry concept is based on illusions about the state but they havent got the guts to really present that argument fortrightly. Hence you will understand my attempt to force them to really exp?ain what is behind <u>their</u> change of view(not 2 NDPers views) and wh t princi ples are inv lved and how. Hard to say how they wi l handle it.

I thought Walters contribution to Body Politic on the post office experi nce was quite valueable. Incidnelty that little rendez-vous you heard about samedf. But it must have been a disappointment to them. My impression is that thatwl whole circle of ex-LSAers, all very talent , is undergoing a rapid process of degenration. I hate to think so but they are not very political and seem quite rapm wrapped up not so much in gay liberation as a social question and its relation to the socialist revolution but in their own pe rsonal problems. I ho pe that I am wrong . And i I am not wrong I hope that it is just a phase. Of course I did not fill them in with all the latest on the LSA--what for. I tried to talk to them about themselves as revolutionists

A bundle of Priorieties came in-November issue. I see there was nothigg th at appeared related to our little co ntribion--unless that abstract middle paper paragraph on page 9 of Kandle's article

There are some difficulties in the womens work here that have been bad badlyhandles and t us have led to some ill feelings. As you know the co nventio n and and the plenum before it dumped abortion as the central issue. With the Morgen thab r case , totally unexpected I gather we made a switchmroo and made abortion agai n the m in issue. This upset Mary True no end. Now it seems that we were not able to make the switch with the the coalition operation here--they continued business as usual. So the leadership moved in and even put Cushman on staff of the Morgentaler defen ce. Then we not very clearly were forced to admit that the line we had been carrying in the Morgen thaler fight was incorrect. Perhaps you will recall Liz's article in LC exp laining the one and only one slogan--drop the charges and how repeal the laws was dead wrong as it would limit the appeal. I never did grasp that separation and apparnelt life itself di d not Everyone for drop the charges turned out to be for repeal---how el se. So we have now committed outselves to repeal. Unfortunately these comrades most directly invo lved ne ver want to come out with it--reports are muddled, unintelligible--so Pat M and Jessie M took them on --but comrades seem to care less and less.

How is Joynce these days----and of course your baby.

Havent got to reading the material around the CO on the EC convent ion and of course problemsdoGetpktakddtdoknot your opinionthe Executivecoitymin the mos t veiled form.

comradely Ross

82 Mayfield Ave
Toronto M6S 1K8
Found in Fall 1973

Vancouver

Dear Cynthia and Maurice

Thanks very much for the wealth of information and your views that you have sent to me. I had already ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ roughed out a critique of Jacqie's article but now, this weekend I will rewrite it. I told the PC to expect such a contribution as soon as I read the article. I do not know ~~whether~~ I told you or not but I have already handed in a critique of their editorial ejecting the concept of Canadian national unionism. Unfortunately this is still sitting on the desk of the LT faction operat on in the PC. As you probably know up until yesterday Walter Davis of the RCT was still on the PC, making it very difficult to operate politically. This fact has justified the CO practically burying everything. I was thinking that we cannot let this curb us--but now the RCT may well be clearing out completely . On Monday I learned that Walter had sent in a statement of resignation from the PC and refusal to recognize its authority but I do not yet know the outcome of a meeting they were yet to have with him.

The whole first paragraph of your letter, Maurice , pulls together in a very precise form what a considerable number of the comrades in the old UT told me about the operation as they have seen it and Jaquie Henderson's role from a way back.

But my purpose in this note is really just to thank you for all the material and to send you a copy of a tendency statement. The names attached are of those who happened to be able to get together one evening last week. There will be more. We are not pressing anyone or trying to polarize the movement. At that last meeting Wayne Roberts presented a document on our orientation, taking up some of the arguments that the leadership has been spreading through the movement behind the backs of the movement. We will be editing it and puting it out for circualtion. The tendency will be meeting about once every ten days . The leadership has been working hard against the 1970 line both through the press and various educational projects I see it has been carrying in Montreal and Vancouver(from the minutes) So we will be doing our preparations. This will either inhibit them or force them to open it up here in Toronto.

Will write you fuller after the weekend.

all the best

Ross Dowson

Glad to hear that the baby is such a big success

JY on nationalism & the UnitedTendency

(Undated, un-titled document, author unknown, of the United Tendency, edited in R.D.'s hand, and possibly Gord D.'s hand, found in 1973)
(Entitled ''Joe Y. on nationalism" & the U.T.)

Comrade Joe Young has made a valuable contribution to the discussion in his latest bulletin that has just come out. We think that he is confused about what the United Tendency is saying, or trying to say. He does however make a much more precise evaluation of the Marxist attitude to nationalism than anything by the Majority so far. (J.) Young points out that Marxists are oppose to nationalism in every situation including oppressed nations like Quebec. He quotes Lenin on this point, to the effect that Marxists limit their support to only what is progressive in national movements; they do not support nationalism.

And Comrade (J.) Young includes Quebec in this framework and points out how we don't support the nationalism of the PQ *(Parti Québécois)*. Comrade Angus earlier quoted Lenin to the same effect: that the nationalism of oppressed nations has a general democratic content and it is this **content** which Marxists unconditionally support. Comrade Angus, however, unlike Comrade Young, goes on to say *(that)* nationalism in Quebec, an oppressed nation, is progressive, and Marxists support Quebec nationalism. Comrade Riddell also speaks of supporting progressive, as opposed to reactionary, nationalism.

It seems there has been a problem in the discussion along this regard. It seems there has been a problem in how our movement uses the term nationalism. In the precise sense of the term, nationalism is a form of bourgeois ideology, and Marxists oppose nationalism as such under all circumstances. What Marxists do support is the legitimate **struggles** and **democratic aspirations** of oppressed peoples, as in Quebec for instance. Unfortunately, these struggles and democratic aspirations are commonly referred to in a loose popular way as simply nationalism.

It is in this loose sense that we say, for instance, that we ''support'' Quebec ''nationalism,'' or say that nationalism is ''progressive'' in Quebec. By that, we mean we support the legitimate national aspirations of the Québécois and their struggle against their national oppression.

Now the United Tendency has said that Canada is not an oppressed nation as such; it has political independence, its right to self-determination has been recognized. Now, comrade Young does not understand how nationalism or more precisely, national aspirations or struggles, can have a democratic a progressive character in this case. He and the other comrades of the Majority tell us that ''progressive'' national aspirations in Canada could therefore have no basis in objective reality; comrade Riddell even says that such aspirations would have to be **irrational,** and how could Marxists, he quips, support something that is (irrational).

How have the United Tendency responded? We have said that these growing national aspirations, or loosely, this nationalism, does not arise out of classic national oppression stemming from unsolved tasks of bourgeois-democracy. We have stated

that these national aspirations are arising out of **new** situation – the growing domination of an already independent capitalist nation by a much mightier capitalist power with – what is more, the actual collaboration of the bourgeoisie of the dominated nation. Is Canada therefore a semi-colony we have been asked? No, we have said, for structural reasons. But we have stated – and it's in our line document – that Canada has many of the aspects or resemblances of a semi-colony, even though it is an advanced capitalist economy – because of the nature of its trade, because of the subordinate relationship of its bourgeoisie with the American bourgeoisie, because of the overwhelming domination of its economy by American capital. And this is generating responses among the Canadian population – nationalist responses – that are not wholly unlike the responses of semi-colonial peoples.

Now, it must be remembered that even in semi-colonies, Marxists do not **support** nationalism. We counter-pose our class struggle strategy. We do however realize that the national indignation of these peoples, their struggle against foreign domination, has a generally progressive character. Now Canada, we repeat, is not a semi-colony. Yet the nationalist responses among the population to foreign domination have a generally democratic progressive character. More and more the social indignation of the Canadian working class is being expressed in a nationalist envelope.

labor Challenge

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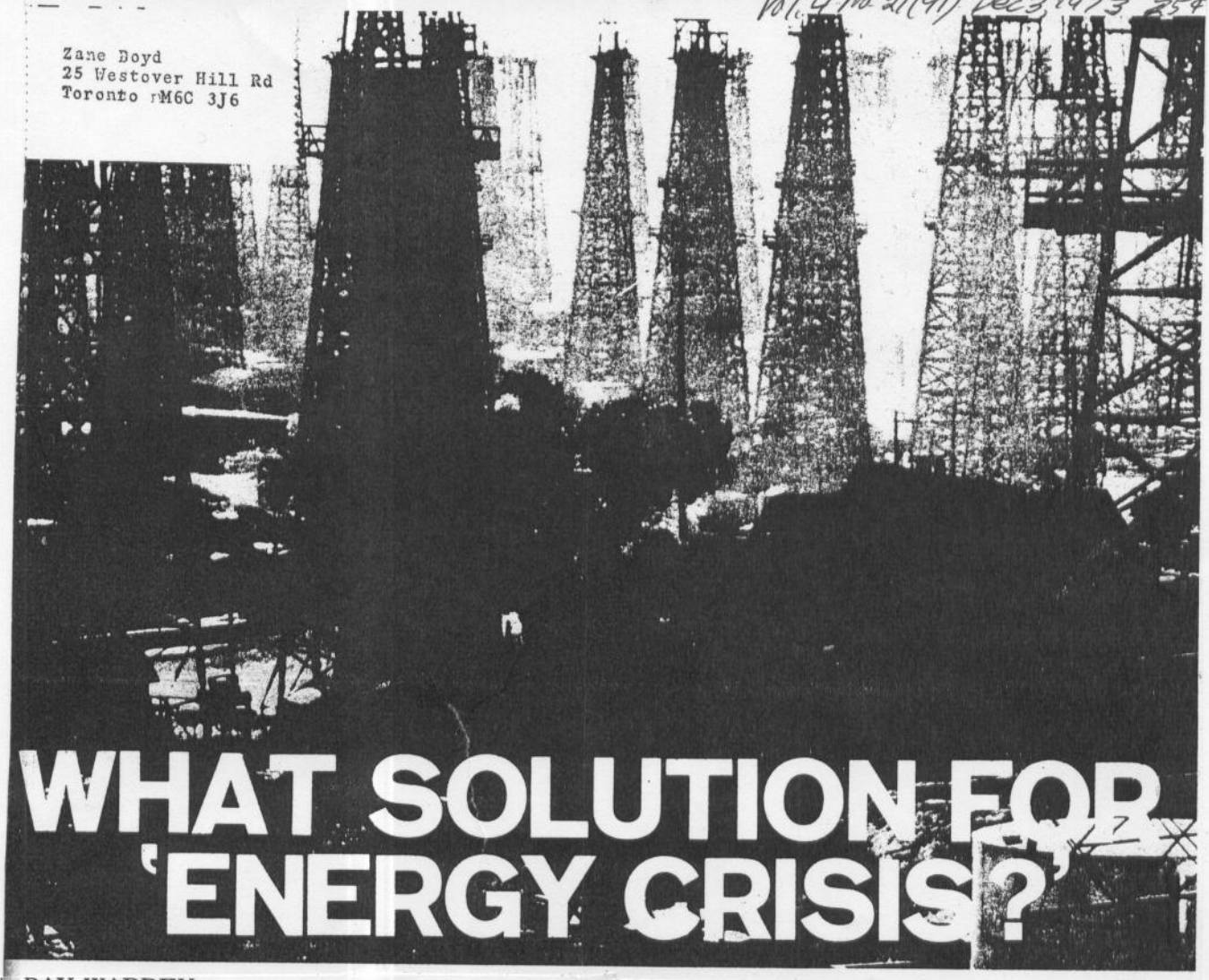

WHAT SOLUTION FOR 'ENERGY CRISIS'?

by RAY WARDEN

"A post-Christmas present to the oil companies." That was NDP MP Max Saltsman's reaction to Energy minister Donald Macdonald's Nov. 14 confirmation that the two-month-old "freeze" on the price of Alberta oil would be lifted at the end of January. With the lifting of the "freeze," the surcharge on exports of oil to the United States would be removed.

According to Macdonald's proposal, the price of Alberta oil would then be allowed to increase in line with the steep prices being demanded by the international oil cartel on the world market — at massive expense to Canadian consumers, and with windfall profits to the Canadian petroleum industry.

Speaking to a Toronto meeting on Nov. 23 NDP leader David Lewis said his party "will not accept the lifting of the oil price freeze Jan. 31." The government's surcharge on export of Canadian oil to the U.S. should be retained, with the proceeds used to finance development of the Athabaska tar sands by Ottawa and the provinces, as a public utility.

By selling on the U.S. market free of the export tax, Lewis calculated, the oil monopolies will reap an additional $1.4-billion profit. "The oil companies are the princes among the corporate welfare bums," he said. "Now they're seeking to become the kings."

Even the Toronto Globe and Mail expressed astonishment at the massive giveaway. "It is inconceivable that the federal government will require Canadians to pay world prices for Canadian oil," said the Globe in a lead editorial Nov. 16.

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Build defense for Dr. Morgentaler

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What solution for 'energy crisis?'

continued from page 1

"Yet that is what Energy minister Donald Macdonald has said will happen on Feb. 1. The move would mean a 50 percent increase in the price of domestic oil, with three quarters of the increase going to the oil companies."

BEHIND THE 'ENERGY CRISIS'

Prime Minister Trudeau went on cross-country television Nov. 22 to explain Canada's energy situation. "Rapid changes of the 70s," he told his audience, "now demand new policies. The most important of these changes include doubts about availability of oil from foreign suppliers, spectacular price increases for that oil and soaring new energy demands by our chief oil customer, the U.S."

In fact the present "energy crisis" is contrived by the international oil cartel to boost its already massive profits. Supply control measures by the oil cartel, coupled with efforts by the petroleum-exporting countries to get a bigger share of the bonanza profits in oil, has created artificial shortages and driven up the world price of oil. The domestic petroleum companies have been scrambling to jack up their prices, to take full advantage of the short energy supply on the world market to increase their profits.

Over the past year, western oil prices have gained an average of 95 cents a barrel. With some oil priced a few cents more than $4 at the wellhead, these are the highest prices in the history of the domestic petroleum industry.

Even prior to announcement of the lifting of their "freeze," which will doubtless be followed by whopping price increases, an official federal government forecast predicted that Canadians would be forced to pay $65 million more to heat their homes this winter.

According to Macdonald, removal of the "freeze" will boost the price of gasoline and heating oil six cents a gallon west of the Ottawa Valley. On Dec. 1, prices of gasoline and heating oil will be increased four to five cents in eastern Canada.

Higher fuel prices will inevitably be reflected in higher prices for all consumer goods, as corporate consumers of oil pass their energy overhead on to working people, and use the "energy crisis" as an excuse of making even greater profits.

DAVID LEWIS. NDP leader calls for formation of Canada Petroleum Corporation.

Despite Canada's massive petroleum reserves parts of the country face severe petroleum shortages this winter. While even flimsy environmental regulations are suspended, consumers are being urged to exercise restraint in energy consumption.

On Nov. 27 Macdonald announced that compulsory allocation of petroleum supplies would be introduced on the wholesale level — a measure which can assure industrial consumers of fuel a steady supply, while shifting the greatest hardship onto individual consumers. Consumer rationing, Macdonald told a news conference the same day, is a very real possibility.

Unrestrained profiteering by the petroleum companies in the midst of the "energy crisis" has raised an outcry among consumers, bringing the alternative of nationalizing the industry onto the stage of the energy debate.

CANADA PETROLEUM CORPORATION

"For too long we have let the multinational giants exploit the resources of our land to their own advantage, unchecked by any notion of public interest or public responsibility," David Lewis told a public meeting in Revelstoke B.C. several weeks ago.

"Over the past few months," he continued, "the federal government has taken some important steps under pressure from us in the NDP — export controls on crude and refined products, a two-price system for oil, the export tax, and so on. Taken together, these bits and pieces constitute the first steps towards a new national petroleum policy."

But the pressure of the oil companies on the Trudeau government is apparently greater than that of the NDP — as Ottawa's abandonment of the "two price system" and export tax shows. Trudeau's adaptation to these NDP policies, if only for a few months, was designed to cushion consumer outrage at the already skyrocketing cost of living, and advance the competitive advantage of Canadian manufacturers in world trade through supplying them with cheaper fuels.

In his Nov. 22 television address, Trudeau warned the oil cartel: "the end of the freeze will not mean the government is going to allow Canadian oil prices to be identical with world prices, no matter how high world prices go." This statement led NDP spokesmen to speculate that some method of price control might be retained after Feb. 1. But the oil companies have made it clear that they will fight to the wire any measure which would cut across their profit-making.

At the core of the NDP's national energy policy, David Lewis advocates "a new Canada Petroleum Corporation with exclusive control over interprovincial and international marketing of petroleum as well as authority to engage in every aspect of the industry — from exploration through development,

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production, transportation and refining to distribution."

But if the Canada Petroleum Corporation was limited to performing the functions of a marketing board, it would be strictly limited in its power. The oil cartel would still control the supply of crude. The oil companies could simply withhold supplies, curtail their refining operations, cut back exploration and development, and thereby blackmail the board into granting them higher prices. The consumers would still be ripped off for every cent the petroleum companies could get.

Lewis has suggested that a Canada Petroleum Corporation could take over Panarctic Oils Ltd., now 45 percent owned by the federal government, as the basis of a venture in petroleum exploration and development. The government would thereby assume responsibility for the greatest risk-taking aspect of the petroleum industry, while through their monopoly control of refining capacity, the oil companies would reap the profits of government-financed discoveries.

Founding a Canada Petroleum Corporation which was vertically integrated from wellhead to gas pump, and in opposition to the existing monopolies, would require massive government investment. The public treasury would be pitted against the massive capital of the international oil cartel, which at every point would attempt to sabotage such a competitive venture.

The only effective method of breaking the stranglehold of the oil cartel on the Canadian market lies in nationalization of the industry — lock, stock and barrel.

Speaking to a meeting in Weyburn, Sask. on Nov. 10, NDP MP T.C. Douglas took a step in the right direction when he suggested a Canadian Petroleum Corporation could buy out some of the oil companies "so we can get back into our hands some of the production, refining and distribution of oil products."

But at a St. Catharines, Ont. meeting Nov. 24 David Lewis quashed any notion that a Canada Petroleum Corporation could nationalize even one of the already existing companies, "at least immediately." Such a measure, he said, would create "difficulties — monetary and otherwise."

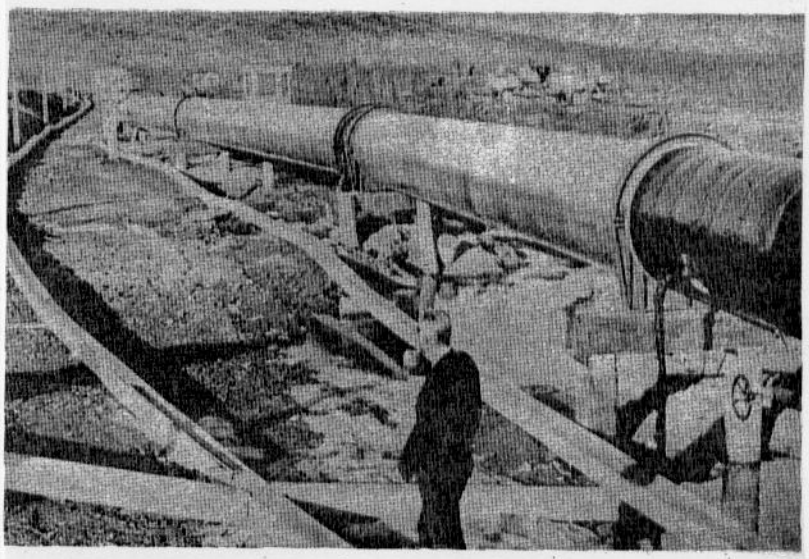
University of Toronto economist and Waffle leader Mel Watkins disagrees. Speaking to a gathering of delegates to the Man and Resources Conference Nov. 20, Watkins urged that the federal government expropriate Imperial Oil, the largest petroleum monopoly active in Canada.

Over the past 10 years, as Lewis documents in his book The Corporate Welfare Bums, Imperial has made more than $1,000 million in profits after taxes. If David Lewis is concerned about the monetary implications of compensating Imperial Oil in a government takeover, he might take into account those profits which that corporation has reaped in pillaging Canadian resources and exploiting working people.

The petroleum monopolies are among the most hated of the big monopolies. Their despoiling of the environment; their wastage of resources; their trampling on the rights of native people, and of colonial peoples around the world; and their profiteering has made them a prime target for nationalization. All the more so in the midst of the "energy crisis" which they have created, and from which they alone are benefiting.

The NDP's denunciation of the oil monopolies as "kings of the welfare bums" has expressed working people's anger at the oil cartel. Their expose of the corporate ripoff has paved the way for socialists who call for nationalization of the industry. But the NDP leaders themselves fail to articulate a program which can tear control of petroleum resources from the hands of the oil monopolies.

According to a May 16 public opinion poll, an astounding 48 percent of Canadians are favorable to nationalization of all energy resource industries. If the NDP leaders are sincere in their objective of organizing the exploitation of Canada's petroleum resources in the interests of working people, then they must be prepared to mobilize public sentiment against the oil monopolies on a program of nationalization under workers' control.



ARCTIC PIPELINE tests in Canada's far north. Only nationalization of industry can prevent despoiling of environment, trampling on native rights, monopoly profiteering, and resolve 'energy crisis.'

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Government appeals acquittal

Defend Dr. Morgentaler!

by LIS ANGUS

The Nov. 13 acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, charged with performing an illegal abortion, has profoundly challenged Canada's restrictive abortion laws.

During his trial, Dr. Morgentaler freely admitted to performing the abortion in question, as well as 6,000 other abortions in his Montreal clinic in the last three years. He based his defense on Article 45 of the criminal code, which protects a doctor from prosecution if the medical act was carried out with "reasonable care and skill" and for the health of the patient.

The jurors found that this was the case for the specific abortion with which Morgentaler had been charged.

The day after the verdict, Dr. Morgentaler reopened his Montreal clinic. He has been performing 10-12 abortions a day since then, declaring that they are now legal unless proven otherwise.

Supporters of Dr. Morgentaler and of a woman's right to abortion have been quick to acclaim the verdict as a victory.

Expressing the hope that the acquittal will be upheld when it is appealed to the higher courts, the Globe and Mail editorialized on Nov. 15 that: "It would mean that decisions on abortion will be placed where they belong, with the parents and their doctor, and removed from the formal committee rooms . . . It is a case of the public, in the persons of a Court of Queen's Bench judge and 12 jurors, recognizing the needs of the times above the head of the politicians."

Time magazine, in a Nov. 26 article headed "Abortion on Demand," stated: "If the verdict stands on appeal — a big if — it could amount to legalizing abortion on demand in Canada." The article mentions the defense committees which have sprung up across the country to build public support for Dr. Morgentaler.

But the government has not been slow to react to this challenge to its abortion laws.

Only three days after the verdict, Crown Attorney Robichaud filed an appeal against the acquittal, alleging that the judge should not have permitted the use of Article 45 in the case.

DEMONSTRATIONS like this one outside courthouse contributed to 'not guilty' victory in Dr. Morgentaler trial. Defense campaign must be escalated to demand dropping of all proceedings, repeal of repressive abortion law.

Robichaud has also publicly threatened to close Dr. Morgentaler's clinic and to lay further charges against him for the abortions he has performed since the trial. Dr. Morgentaler already faces twelve other charges relating to performing abortions.

The Crown is also threatening to move to revoke Dr. Morgentaler's bail. This would put him behind bars until all the remaining charges have been settled in the courts. The prosecution may so move on Nov. 28, when Dr. Morgentaler appears in court for a previously scheduled preliminary hearing on an earlier charge.

The Crown also began the preliminary hearing of Dr. Macchabee, an associate of Dr. Morgentaler also charged with performing an illegal abortion. The prosecution presented one witness — the woman who allegedly had the abortion — whose testimony was heard in the absence of the press and public. The hearing will continue on Dec. 4.

The federal government is also considering another line of attack, that of going directly to the Supreme Court of Canada for a ruling on whether Article 45 may be used as a defense in abortion cases.

Prime Minister Trudeau told the Commons Nov. 22, ". . . the government would certainly not want to leave a section of the Criminal Code open to interpretation. That is why we are happy to see that an appeal has been lodged in this case, and that the Appeal Court and, eventually, the Supreme Court may have to rule on the final interpretation of this section of the Criminal Code . . . if need be we shall consider the possibility of referring the case to the Supreme Court so that this matter may be settled as soon as possible."

NDP MP Grace MacInnis, referring to the acquittal of Dr. Morgentaler, asked in the House of Commons Nov. 15, "When is this government going to permit freedom of conscience to the people of this country by taking abortion from the Criminal Code and allowing the decision to be made in each individual case by the woman involved and her doctor?"

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Justice minister Otto Lang's parliamentary secretary replied that "The general position of the Minister inside and outside the House is as follows: he objects to any amendment to the abortion legislation as it now stands."

Supporters of the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler have not let up the pressure — to the contrary; big public meetings are being held in nearly every major Canadian city to publicize the acquittal and draw more people into the continuing campaign.

Dr. Morgentaler himself addressed a Montreal victory rally of 250 supporters on Nov. 22, in one of his first public speeches since his arrest in August. Other prominent Montreal supporters of the campaign also spoke. Two days later, a sizeable English language rally took place.

Anna Cushman, co-ordinator of the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, has just returned from a tour of the western provinces, where she spoke at a series of meetings in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Vancouver.

She will also speak at meetings in St. Catharines and Ottawa. In Toronto, a public meeting is planned Nov. 28 with Dr. Morgentaler, MP Grace MacInnis, and Cushman as featured speakers.

"We have won an important victory. But the fight is not over — the anti-abortion forces are now organizing for the next stage of the fight, and so are we. We have to continue to mobilize as broad and as vocal support as possible for Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Macchabee," declared Cushman, addressing supporters across the country.

"We have to defend the victory which has been won by calling for an end to the victimization of these doctors, for dropping of all charges against them, and for repeal of the abortion law under which they have been charged."

Sisterhood is powerful

Is the government neutral ?

A woman said to me the other day at a Morgentaler defense committee meeting, "You know, I'm worried that the 'right to life' lobby is having a big impact on the MPs in Ottawa. I'm afraid the government will end up supporting the anti-abortion position because the 'right to lifers' appear to be more than the small minority that they really are."

She was referring to the 2,500 demonstrators — most of them fresh from church — who took part in the "Festival for Life" demonstration on Parliament Hill on Nov. 4, and to the floods of letters to editors and MPs organized by anti-abortionists. This flood of letter-writing has been particularly strong since the acquittal of Dr. Morgentaler on Nov. 13.

While it's important to counter "right to life" arguments and activities at every opportunity, we should not make the mistake of thinking these groups are our main opponent. Our biggest enemy is the government itself and the ruling class interests it represents.

The government promotes a myth about itself: it poses as a "neutral" body, prepared to listen to the merits of both sides and be swayed accordingly. But this neutrality is a complete fraud.

Who introduced and passed Canada's abortion law, which denies any woman the right to choose not to continue a pregnancy, and which every year wreaks havoc with the lives of thousands of women?

Who steadfastly refuses to remove this anti-woman law from the books?

Who has stalled and delayed over and over again any real attempt to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women — which even its authors stated was only a start towards improving the condition of women in Canada?

The body responsible for these crimes against women is the government of Canada.

The reason for this lies not in the personal psyches of government officials, but in the nature of that government itself and the capitalist system it defends.

Women's oppression is so deeply rooted in this system that the system could not function without it. Woman's role in the family in particular is central to the smooth functioning of capitalist society; and all aspects of women's oppression reflect society's need to keep us subservient.

The rights that women do have in Canada today were won through the struggles of earlier feminists and working people.

The government cannot remove these rights with impunity because of the strength of the masses who fought to win them and who will fight to maintain them.

Liberal MP Ralph Stewart told the "Festival for Life" demonstrators, "We now have a Justice minister who is on our side," referring to Otto Lang who has issued orders to provincial solicitors-general to crack down on "lenient" hospital abortion committees.

But it is not only the Justice department, but all sections of the government who stand against granting further concessions to women. It can only be forced to concede the right of abortion to women (as happened in the U.S.) through fear of the power and potential of the women's rights movement.

We face a much more powerful enemy than the "right to life" groups. We face the opposition of the capitalist state as a whole.

The only way to defeat that kind of opposition is through campaigns that unite and mobilize masses of people against the government's position. A mass action-oriented campaign, even in its early stages, can begin to expose the myth that the government rules in the interest of all the people. Such a campaign can wrest victories from the capitalists by posing the possibility that they stand to lose more if they refuse to give in.

—LIS ANGUS

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Gov't inaction angers B.C. women

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

Close to 100 women representing numerous organizations crowded into the B.C. NDP's headquarters in Vancouver Nov. 12 to present their case to the provincial NDP caucus committee on legislative priorities of women. The women of all ages, representing every shade of political opinion, shared a common anger at the government's failure to enact women's rights legislation.

The committee hearing resembled a feminist rally more than a polite presentation of briefs.

The session began when Shelagh Day, speaking for the feminist groups, dumped an overflowing wastebasket of women's briefs to the government on the floor. "That's what's happened to all the briefs we've made to the government," she said as the women cheered and clapped.

"The government doesn't need a special committee to find out what women want, Day added. "We have been telling it what we want ever since it was elected. Women in B.C. suffer discrimination in all areas. We want action now." She complained of the short notice — only eight days — given to women that the hearing would be held. Commenting on the crowded facilities, she noted that obviously the committee was expecting a much smaller turnout.

Day also asked where the results of the hearings would go, and whether they would be implemented.

Rosemary Brown, MLA and chairwoman of the Caucus Committee, replied: "This is the way the government operates. Women have been waiting for help for 2,000 years. There is a possibility of the government contemplating legislation in the spring session. If you want your recommendations submitted to the spring Legislature, stop complaining and get on with the presentations."

On that note of encouragement, the presentations began. Jammed into the small, cold office, the women stayed for three hours. Many returned the next morning. They not only listened to each other's briefs, they asked questions and volunteered information to back each other up. On several occasions they contradicted the committee, which tried to cover up for the government's inaction. While the hearing began in an orderly enough fashion, by the end of the evening session it had become a heated exchange of ideas, with dozens of women participating.

VANGUARD FORUM in Vancouver Nov. 16 heard panel of women activists on how to win government action on women's rights. Vanguard Forums are held Friday nights at 1208 Granville.

The women's demands included: child care centers throughout the province; an end to discrimination in the work force and in educational institutions; abortion clincs throughout the province; requiring all publicly-funded hospitals to perform abortions; removal of discriminatory sections of the Factories Act; adequate nutrition and health care for women and children on welfare; and a ministry of women's rights.

A special presentation was made by Ann Thompson of the B.C. Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, demanding that the government speak out in defense of this victim of the discriminatory abortion laws.

Numerous other demands were raised. Women pointed out that many of their demands are already NDP policy adopted by conventions, but these planks are being ignored by the government.

The first presentation, by Moyra Roberts of the B.C. Women's Liberal Association, referred to a recent statement by Premier David Barrett that he doesn't believe that "women, as a group, are oppressed under capitalism." When Karen Sanford MLA for Comox, a member of the caucus committee, said she didn't think Barrett had said that, several women responded that they had heard him say it following the demonstration they had held Sept. 8 to demand that he act on women's rights.

The brief of the League for Socialist Action also began by quoting the statement. "Contrary to the premier's beliefs, women as a sex are oppressed under capitalism," the brief said. The LSA brief explained that this oppression is not just a surface aspect of life in Canada. It projected a wide ranging series of demands to further women's liberation. The section entitled "Freedom from Domestic Slavery" was questioned by Rosemary Brown, who feared that such measures as low cost housecleaning services organized on an industrial basis and available to all would worsen the energy crisis.

LSA spokeswoman Jacquie Henderson said that society suffers from a much more important energy crisis than a supposed lack of oil. "That crisis is the energy of women which is being wasted," she said.

Henderson ended the last presentation of the evening by summing up the spirit of the hearing, "Women in B.C. will not sit back and wait for the results of another government commission to gather dust on the shelves of some minister's office. We will join with the women's movement in B.C. and across Canada in demanding that legislation for women's rights be enacted immediately."

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Man. NDP must support native and women's rights

by BEVERLY BERNARDO

WINNIPEG — Constituency associations and affiliated unions have submitted a large number of resolutions to the Nov. 30-Dec. 2 convention of the Manitoba NDP. The number of resolutions reflects a general dissatisfaction among party members with the Schreyer government's record.

Among the key issues posed in the resolutions are native rights, feminist demands, restrictive labor laws and the need for a government takeover of the mining industry.

The Schreyer government seems determined to press ahead with a plan to divert the Churchill River and flood Southern Indian Lake, even though the NDP opposed the plan when it was first proposed by the Tory government in 1969. The plan has been opposed by ecologists who fear the destruction of the environment and wildlife in the region.

An even bigger issue is at stake — the rights of the 4,000 native people living in the area to be affected by the diversion. The government's plan would wipe out their way of life, ending their ability to earn a living by fishing and trapping.

Natives in the area have fought the plan from the outset. Rather than accept "compensation" offered by the government for the loss of their lands, the residents of the region filed for an injunction to halt the diversion.

Under the Tories a $100,000 trust fund was set up by the government for the natives to use for legal aid. Now Schreyer has declared that none of the remaining $40,000 can be used to pay for court costs to fight the Churchill plan. The premier insists that the money can only be used to provide technical and legal assistance to residents in dealing with assessments of damage and for compensation resulting from the hydro project. Yet even Tory leader Spivak admits that the fund was set up for use by the natives as they saw fit.

Edward Schreyer

Schreyer is reported to be jubilant because the "energy crisis" has dulled opposition to the Churchill River hydro project. He has maintained that the project must be completed because the provincial treasury needs the revenue which sale of hydro-electric power to the United States and Eastern Canada would provide. If money is a problem for the government, it could begin by nationalizing the lucrative mining industry in Northern Manitoba and fighting for the nationalization of the oil giants whose hunger for super-profits has caused the so-called "energy crisis". But instead of moving to nationalize these huge corporations, Schreyer has chosen to violate the rights of the native people of Manitoba.

Although formed only a short time ago, a Women's Liaison Committee involving some 60 women has managed to get a large number of feminist resolutions passed for the convention. The Committee is focusing on four issues: an amendment to the Human Rights Act to make discrimination against women more difficult, an affirmative action program for women employed by the provincial government, universal free day care, and a women's advisory board to the government.

Unfortunately, an important omission in the Committee's priorities is the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, accused of performing illegal abortions. Nor does the committee demand the repeal of the abortion laws. This is all the more unfortunate since the Manitoba NDP is on record as opposing a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion. Nevertheless, resolutions for repeal of the abortion laws have been submitted to the convention by NDP riding associations.

Even though there is no organized left wing in the Manitoba NDP at this time, it appears that on these and other issues, the Schreyer leadership will face challenges at this convention.

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James Bay project

Court rejects native rights

by DENNIS MARLON

"Suddenly they're (the native people) not the winners any more. What can I say to them, that the dam will probably be finished before we win our case?"

This was the reaction (on Nov. 22) of Robert Kanetewat, chief of the Fort George tribe, on hearing that the Quebec Court of Appeal has suspended an injunction issued by the Quebec Supreme Court the previous week. The suspension allows construction on the James Bay project to resume if, indeed, it ever stopped.

The injunction issued by the Quebec Supreme Court on Nov. 15 had ordered a halt of construction on the project. The Indians cannot take any further legal action until next spring, by which time the project will be well underway.

The basis which the Court of Appeal used to justify the suspension corresponds exactly to the Bourassa government's-reasoning. The ruling of the court stated: "The (Quebec) statute creating the James Bay Development Corporation . . . must be enforced. This law was passed (in 1971) to protect the interests of the Quebec people and is therefore in the public interest. Since this public interest is now in opposition to the wishes of about 2,000 residents of Quebec, the public interest must prevail."

No weight or significance was given to the aboriginal and national rights of the native people.

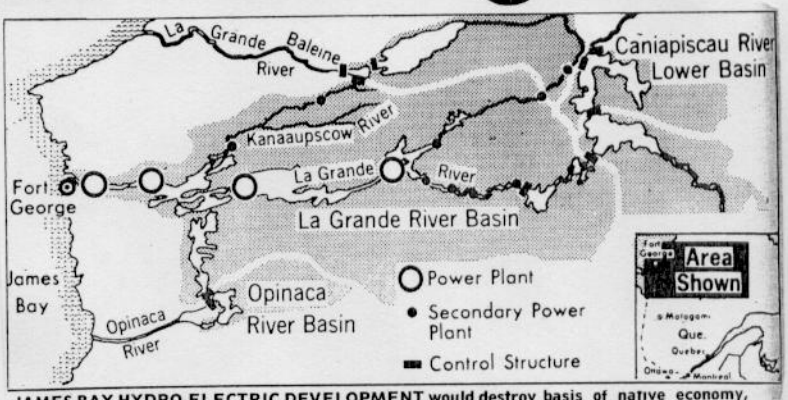
While the Court of Appeal suspension was handed down in a matter of days, the decision of the Supreme Court took 10 months — indicative of the biased nature of the courts when big business or the government are being challenged. This was the longest injunction hearing in Canadian history!

The James Bay project, which involves the construction of four main dams along a 300-mile distance of Le Grande River, 80 miles of dikes, and flooding of about 4,500 square miles of forest, is well on its way. By Christmas, the project which Bourassa has claimed "nothing can stop," will be viewed as a fait accompli, which would render another counterattack by the Indians much more difficult. The long delay of the injunction procedings in the Quebec Supreme Court and the quick suspension of its decision by the Quebec Court of Appeal have acted as a powerful one-two punch against the rights of the natives.

Bourassa and the James Bay Development Corporation were well aware of what the project would mean to the lives of the Indians in the area. As a study commissioned by the corporation stated: "The rumors of a project of some kind had been rife for years, and all had been amplified by uncertainty. 'The Project,' by the time it was announced, had somewhat the connotations of the Last Judgment when the whole earth would be flooded, and no one would be saved from the power of the white man."

Yet the government did not once inform the native people of what it was planning. With the beginning of construction, the government did not soften its stand in face of the plight of the Indians. After all, the "public interest" was at stake.

In reality, the "public interest" means the interests of big business. This was made clear by Andre Saindon, a spokesman for Hydro-Quebec, as reported in the Nov. 16 Toronto Star. He reported that Hydro-Quebec would probably have to postpone issuing a $125-million bond issue because of the "uncertainties" surrounding the project. Already Hydro-Quebec has borrowed $260 million abroad and $205 million in Canada from "money markets," that is capitalists who will make millions on the interest. Construction companies are making millions from public funds. In addition, International Nickel and Imperial Oil have already signed contracts to exploit the natural resources once the area is opened up. Just who benefits was indicated by George Visitor, an Indian who worked on the Hydro project for four months as a welder. "It's the bosses who are making money on James Bay who really care about the project," he told a Toronto Globe and Mail reporter.



JAMES BAY HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT would destroy basis of native economy, violating aboriginal rights of native people. Fifth of area of Quebec is involved.

From the start, Bourassa had "the bosses" in mind. He didn't even approach the Indians. At the same time, he gave the James Bay Development Corporation complete control over the 133,000-square mile territory (about the size of Britain and Ireland combined). The 1,300 Cree and 700 Inuit people who face destruction of their culture and heritage, counterattacked a year ago by drawing up a petition for an injunction to stop construction. $10,000 was raised in a cross-Canada fund drive. In addition the Federal Indian Affairs department was forced to give financial aid to help cover legal expenses.

In court, the Indians fought for their aboriginal right to the land and its resources. Their legal case was based on the terms under which the Quebec government "received" the northern part of the province from the federal government in 1912. These terms stated that the province could not develop the area "without the prior agreement of the Indians and Eskimos" through treaties. With only one minor exception, no treaties have been signed with the natives since that time.

The Supreme Court decision tended to accept the Indians' arguments. Justice Albert Malouf, the presiding judge, accused the Quebec government of attempting to complete the James Bay project before the Indians were consulted. The government and the associated companies, he said, were violating the natives' historical rights, causing "devastaging damage" to the ecology, and wiping out enough wildlife to endanger the natives' "very existence as a people." He said the Indians "wish to continue their way of life . . ." His decision was hailed by the native movement as a significant legal precedent favoring natives in their struggle for their aboriginal rights.

Undoubtedly the most hypocritical party in the affair is the federal government, in the person of Jean Cretien, minister of Indian Affairs, the "guardian" of the rights of native people. While greeting the Malouf decision with "satisfaction," he is presently negotiating with both the Indians and the Quebec government. Just how sincere this stance is can be judged by the fact that the federal government is currently fighting against a similar judgment which allows natives to claim land rights in the North West Territories.

What is involved in the James Bay project is the genocide of a people and culture at the hands of the courts and government which are in the service of big business. Adrian Tanner, a Toronto anthropologist who wintered among the Cree people in the area reports he found "one of the few aboriginal populations still in control of its own culture." The Indians do not want to give this up for the "white man's world."

"Money," Josie Sam, a regional Indian chief told the Toronto Star, "money will come and go . . . the village, the country, the food and the animals are here. They do not come and go like money. If we lose them, we should lose them forever. And we should lose ourselves."

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Debate in Saskatchewan Waffle

A revolutionary program needed

by RAY WARDEN

Only a few weeks ago the Saskatchewan Waffle movement determined to sever its last connections with the NDP and launch a "new socialist party" in 1974.

But what kind of socialist party? On what program? These questions are still up for debate, not only in Saskatchewan, but for the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC) as it discusses formation of a new party.

Of the various contributions to the Saskatchewan Waffle's discussion of political perspectives, two in particular attempt to come to grips with the general theoretical questions of enduring interest to socialists.

In his pamphlet "A Socialist Alternative for Canada," Saskatchewan Waffle leader John W. Warnock attempts to provide a theoretical basis for the Waffle's split, with a critique of the brand of Social Democracy practiced by the NDP leadership. (Some of the errors in Warnock's position were examined in the Sept. 24 Labor Challenge.)

R.F. Mahood, in no doubt the most far-reaching contribution to the Saskatchewan Waffle's discussion, offered "A Critique of 'A Socialist Alternative for Canada,' " which in replying to Warnock's pamphlet, exposes many of the theoretical errors which have disoriented the Waffle's politics from the organization's inception.

Mahood develops his critique around two central axes: a critique of what he calls "left nationalism," as upheld by the Waffle movement since its foundation in 1969; and his contention that Warnock's views "remain trapped in certain essential respects within the framework of Social Democracy."

'LEFT NATIONALISM'

"Nationalism, in the context of English Canada," Mahood begins his critique, "has, of course, been one of the hallmarks of the Waffle group ever since publication of its founding document 'For an Independent and Socialist Canada' in 1969."

Having reflected, and in turn capitalized upon the "rising tide" of nationalist sentiment in Canada, the Waffle has had little inclination to question its "flirtation or even wholesale adaptation to nationalist ideology."

Mahood develops a strong polemic against Warnock's nationalist conception of Canada as a colony of U.S. imperialism. For Marxists, he writes, "Imperialism is seen as an integrated world system not reducible to any single national manifestation, for example, U.S. imperialism.

"With one of the highest living standards in the world," Mahood continues, "a numerically large and relatively well-organized proletariat, and most importantly, a bourgeoisie which has full control of its own state and has fashioned a specific structure of political domination, Canada, far from being a colony, is a fully-fledged member in the concert of imperialist powers. As such, it is not only participates in the export of capital and exploitation of the third world, notably in the West Indies and parts of Latin America and Africa, but it also actively suppresses a colonized people within its own borders, the Quebecois," and he might have added, the native people.

Having correctly defined Canada as an imperialist power, and situated its position within world imperialism, Mahood procedes to polemicize against the disastrous direction in which the Waffle's nationalism leads. "By concentrating their fire on a foreign ruling class," he states, "socialists in an advanced capitalist state like Canada obscure the nature of domestic social strife. Questions of class are subordinated to the need to defend the nation. By promoting nationalist ideology in the oppressor nation, the left only sets the stage for class collaboration, the damping down of social struggles, and the defeat of its own working class."

'BEYOND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY'

Having completed his polemic against "left nationalism" Mahood goes on to develop a critique of Warnock's assessment of Social Democracy. "There can be no doubt," Mahood writes, "that Jack Warnock and a substantial section of the Waffle membership wish to go beyond Social Democracy." But "A Socialist Alternative for Canada" does not achieve that goal.

In focussing on the natural resources question, the myth of Swedish socialism, and state subsidies to private enterprise, Warnock is able to document, as Mahood notes, "the complete adaptation that Social-Democratic parties have made to the capitalist system."

But Warnock's critique remains shallow. "For Warnock, as for much of the Waffle, the bankruptcy of the NDP and of Social-Democratic parties in general can be defined as a fundamental failure of the will. Social-Democratic leaders like David Lewis must in the end stand accused of willful complicity in the 'better management of capitalism'."

But it is not lack of will which lies behind the NDP leaders' betrayal of the socialist objective. "Situating the issue on the plane of ideological commitment," Mahood warns, "can only provide us with a partial and rather superficial understanding of Social Democracy's inevitable capitulation to the practical requirements of advanced capitalism." Rather, it is necessary to examine Social Democracy's fundamental tenents from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

Mahood attempts to show the "ideological heritage which gives

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B.C. NDP CONVENTION. League for Socialist Action participated in rank-and-file movement against NDP government's antilabor code. Saskatchewan Waffle leaders have walked away from such struggles within labour party.

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unity to the thoughts and actions of Canadian Social-Democratic leaders" with a brief outline of the central theses of Eduard Bernstein's classic revision of Marxism: his conception of the state as a neutral agency; optimism at capitalism's capacity to eliminate its own abuses through gradual evolution toward social harmony and cooperation among classes; and reduction of socialism to an ethical ideal.

That Warnock's critique of the contemporary Social Democrats turns on the question of will is no accident. For in a number of respects, Warnock has not escaped the fundamental Social Democratic framework. Mahood finds in Warnock's pamphlet, for example, a conception of socialism as an ethical ideal which is well within the Social-Democratic tradition.

"The reality of a moral dimension to socialism cannot be denied," Mahood writes. "But because it creates a gap between present reality and future dream, ethical socialism ultimately falls into short-term reformism on the one hand, and abstract utopianism on the other."

Such a cleavage is reflected in the Regina manifesto, which formulates as an ethical ultimatum "the eradication of capitalism and the establishment of socialism." Significantly, Mahood notes, Warnock's paper "fails to point out the precise relationship between its abstract moralism and its rank legislative reformism, but rather upholds the former against the latter."

That cleavage was at the root of the reformism of the CCF and is continued by the NDP. Efforts to revive the ethical purity of the "old CCF" through breaking with the NDP can only lead the Waffle down the same reformist course.

THE STATE

But the most decisive weakness of Warnock's pamphlet, Mahood stresses, "must surely lie in its position on the state . . . in that it fails to recognize the necessity for the destruction of the existing state apparatus and its replacement by a new state based on organs of workers power."

In Warnock's paper, ". . . there is a consistent attempt to counterpose state power to the unchecked ravages of private capital, if the authority of the state is vigorously utilized by a party sufficiently committed to the construction of socialism." Warnock distinguishes socialists like himself from Social Democrats on the basis of "how each would use the state."

Warnock's conception of socialism as an accumulation of state-implemented reforms and nationalizations is fundamentally within the Social-Democratic tradition, which conceives of the state as, at least potentially, neutral, and adheres to the perspective of transforming it into an instrument at the service of the working class with the election of a "socialist government."

The Marxist conception is fundamentally counterposed to any notion of transforming the capitalist state. As Mahood states, the task of Marxists is "to broaden and generalize struggles to the point where they spill over all constitutional and bureaucratic channels, creating an irreconcilable gap between the strength and power of the mass movement and the capacity of parliament and the state to govern."

REVOLUTIONISTS AND THE NDP

"A socialist movement," Mahood stresses, "can never postpone vital questions of strategy until some future 'stage' or more appropriate moment is reached. Revolutionary politics must always be on the agenda, even if revolution in the most immediate sense is not."

But on a key question facing Saskatchewan socialists, defining their relation to the NDP, Mahood abstains from taking a position.

In examining the future of the Waffle in Saskatchewan, he warns his readers that "like it or not, the NDP is far from a spent force. Nor should Wafflers content themselves with the convenient myth that the NDP is really a 'middle-class' party," as Warnock maintains in his pamphlet. The NDP, Mahood says, will continue to act as "a pole of attraction" for working and farming people. But he makes no more precise analysis of the NDP and draws no tactical conclusions.

A rounded appreciation of the significance of the NDP in Canadian politics, and adoption of a correct orientation towards it, is a central challenge before revolutionists. In walking away from the NDP the Saskatchewan Waffle is abandoning the class struggle in one of its most fruitful aspects, on the Social Democrats' own turf.

Raising demands based on the objective requirements of the class struggle, revolutionists maintain the perspective of mobilizing the working class and its allies in action against fundamental aspects of capitalist rule. Through their campaigns, carried both inside and outside the labor party, they challenge the NDP leadership to take anticapitalist action. It is only through their participation in such struggles that the mass of working people, who today look to the NDP for leadership, will through their own experiences come to understand the barrier to resolution of their fundamental problems constituted by the NDP leaders.

Revolutionary propaganda, by itself, will not persuade the mass of working people that Social Democracy is a dead end. Revolutionists who stand aside from the experience of the class in struggle, as it is inevitably reflected within the labor party, leave the working people at the mercy of their reformist leaders, and will never accomplish the task of building an alternative, revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Despite widespread disappointment at the record of the Saskatchewan NDP government, the mass of working people today are unwilling to bypass the labor party — whether to construct a mass revolutionary party, or for the left-reformist "alternative" posed by the Waffle. They can only view the Waffle's opposition to "their party" as a blow to all working people.

A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In raising the question of the Saskatchewan Waffle's future, Mahood makes a number of telling points. There can be no growth of revolutionary politics in the organization, he summarizes his earlier arguments, without rejection of nationalism as a progressive force in English Canada, and renunciation of parliamentarism as a strategy for achieving socialism.

"The Waffle," he argues, "must begin to intervene consciously as an organization in a wide spectrum of struggles which have already begun to challenge bourgeois social relations in Canada." Among these he lists the farmers movement, the "women's movement in its struggle for abortion law reform, comprehensive child care and equal pay, and student-teacher fights against educational cutbacks and for democracy in the schools and universities . . ." Wafflers should

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initiate activities in response to struggles in other parts of the country and the world, "for example, Quebec, Chile and Indochina."

"In these and other activities," he warns, "the Waffle should not see its role as tailending popular struggles by token support for minimum demands, interjecting wherever possible rather abstract references to the maximum goal of constructing socialism . . . Rather the Waffle must intervene in struggle by proposing transitional demands aimed at winning strategic victories which increase the combativity and consciousness of the participants and raise the struggle to a higher level."

The present-day Waffle, Mahood recognises, is inadequate to the task confronting revolutionists; his paper challenges the organization to take a new course, coming to grips with the alternative perspective presented by revolutionary socialism. But his polemic is unfinished in so far as it fails to draw out the complete logic of his position. Even the preconditions which he lays down "for growth of revolutionary socialist politics in the organization" cannot be met in practice except by a revolutionary party.

Only a revolutionary party, organized in accordance with Leninist principles, can pursue a centralized strategy of intervention in "a wide spectrum of struggles" on the basis of a transitional program. Only under the guidance of a Leninist party can mass struggles be broadened and generalized beyond the capacity of the capitalist state to govern, and led forward to the establishment of a workers state. The logic of Mahood's politics, consistently pursued, must eventually lead him to this conclusion.

The task of constructing a revolutionary party, as much as any other aspect of revolutionary politics, cannot be postponed "until some future 'stage' or more appropriate moment is reached" — it too "must always be on the agenda."

SASKATCHEWAN FARMERS DEMONSTRATION. Only on basis of revolutionary socialist politics can Waffle effectively intervene in 'broad spectrum of struggles.'

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'Let refugees from Chile into Canada!' - H. Allende

NOV. 27 — Canada's largest meeting of protest against the coup in Chile took place in Toronto this evening. Over 1,600 people heard Hortensia Allende, widow of the late president of Chile, call on Canadians to force their government to open its doors to refugees from Chile.

Allende, after a speech detailing the role of imperialism and the Chilean right wing in overthrowing the Popular Unity government, called for a world-wide campaign against the junta, including exposure of the denials of human rights in Chile, boycotts of Chilean goods and strikes against ships bound for Chile. She received repeated standing ovations.

Her call for Canada to admit refugees was echoed by NDP MP John Harney, who chaired the meeting. Other speakers included David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor; Mel Swart, president of the Ontario NDP; Toronto alderman Dan Heap; and Margaret Papandreou of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement.

The meeting was sponsored by 40 organizations, representing the broadest spectrum of forces brought together for a single action in many years.

The sponsors included Association of Chilean Students, Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Committee for Solidarity with Democratic Chile, Ontario NDP, United Electrical Workers Union, Latin American Working Group, Oxfam, Anglican Church, United Church, Ontario Federation of Students, League for Socialist Action, Communist Party, Revolutionary Marxist Group, Young Socialists, and Ontario Waffle.

HORTENSIA ALLENDE, wife of slain Chilean president. "End Canadian aid to junta."

Exposé of gov't spying in Quebec increases opposition to wiretap bill

by ART YOUNG

The government is having some trouble getting its wiretap bill through Parliament. Officially termed the "Protection of Privacy" bill, the measure in reality gives legal sanction to wide-ranging use of wiretaps and other electronic snooping devices by the police against law-abiding citizens. The evidence obtained by the cops under the terms of the bill can be used in court.

Civil libertarians and others have subjected the measure to heavy criticism. Under this pressure, and with the Watergate scandals south of the border continuing apparently without end, a parliamentary committee amended the bill slightly to exclude from the courts any evidence the police obtain through the use of an illegal bugging device.

Justice minister Otto Lang attacked the amendment, and is insisting that it must be removed when the bill comes before the House this month. He wants to restore the original provisions which would declare some taps illegal, but allow the police to use evidence uncovered by them, in court. This would reward the police for illegal bugging.

One figure now speaking out against the Lang position is Tory MP Claude Wagner, well known as a law-and-order man. To explain his change of mind, Wagner cites the revelation that the Quebec Provincial Police have been wiretapping "for political purposes."

On Oct. 23 the Montreal daily Le Devoir announced proof that the QPP had been tapping the phones of two prominent nationalists, Yvon Groulx and Gilles Caron for six months. Groulx and Caron are leaders of the Montreal Societe St-Jean Baptiste (SSJB), a group of independentist businessmen and professionals.

Individual policemen who became disgusted with the operations of the "anti-terrorist" squad gave the paper details of the tapping, together with a top-secret internal police document, and a copy of one of the recordings of a phone conversation. Mrs. Caron confirmed to the Le Devoir that it was a tape of a phone call between her and her mother.

The transcription of six month's continuous recording of the conversations of Groulx and Caron take up 400 pages in the police files, under the classification "Quebec-95." This is only the latest of a long series of political dossiers on what the authorities term "movements with national influence." Most of these have nothing to do with terrorism or subversion, according to the dissident cops.

The Groulx-Caron taps were part of a covert operation by the authorities against the Parti Quebecois, aimed at discovering its sources of funds, according to the sources.

Caught red-handed, the government was forced to admit the phone taps. But neither the director of the QPP, Paul-A. Benoit or Justice minister Jerome Choquette could say why they had been installed.

Speaking for the SSJB on Oct. 24, Francois-Albert Angers declared that in tapping the phones, the government was not investigating criminal activity, but was hoping to trap the two men. It was "waiting for a crime, hoping one would happen. Waiting in the dark for a strategic mistake, for a phrase that could be quoted at an opportune moment," he said. The SSJB is considering suing the government.

The wiretaps on Groulx' and Caron's phones have been removed. But police bugging is still widespread in Quebec.

On Nov. 21 five bugs were discovered in the Montreal headquarters of the Agence de Presse Libre du Quebec (Free Press Agency of Quebec), a left-wing press service. (In 1972 the APLQ offices were burglarized, and files and subscription lists stolen. The fact that nothing of monetary value was taken indicated that the raid was the work of the police.)

One day earlier, three Montreal lawyers showed the press microphones they had discovered in the ceilings of their offices. They said they suspected it was the work of the police. Le Devoir reported Nov. 22 that the lawyer's suspicions were correct. The police had installed the microphones last spring. Since then, they had tape-recorded highly confidential discussions between the lawyers, and clients alleged to be members of the Mafia.

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Editorial

UN 'peacekeeping' aimed against Arabs

An extra 600 troops from bases across Canada left last week for the Middle East to join 480 Canadians already in the United Nations force.

Another "peacekeeping" mission for Canadian troops — the second this year! Just what is the purpose of this venture, and why is Canada involved?

On the surface, this "peacekeeping" operation is somewhat different from Canada's role in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) in Vietnam last spring. At that time, Canadian government spokesmen played hard to get — expressing doubts at the likelihood of "success," laying down "conditions" for Canadian participation — all designed to strengthen the hand of the U.S. and its client regime in Saigon against the liberation forces.

While the circumstances surrounding Canada's participation in the "peacekeeping" force in the Mideast are quite different from Vietnam, the purpose is the same. Canada is there — as the most experienced imperialist power in this type of operation — to do what it can to make sure that U.S. and world imperialist interests are preserved.

External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp raised a trial balloon for Canadian participation on the United Nations force in the Middle East. He told the House of Commons Oct. 22: "We would probably be more ready to go than any country in the world."

But while Sharp voiced the "ready, aye ready" attitude in Ottawa, no invitation came. Egyptian officials let it be known that Canada was unacceptable to them because it is pro-Israel. The Soviet Union objected to Canada's participation without balancing it with a Warsaw pact country.

For a few days, the UN force went ahead without Canada. Undoubtedly, the United States used its weight to get its favorite ally on the force, for on Oct. 27, the UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim asked Canada to take on the role of "logistics support" for the force. Sharp quickly agreed. After a series of international negotiations, Poland was added to the force, to share the "logistics" operations with Canada.

The term "peacekeeping" is just so much rhetoric. The real purpose of the UN force is to help impose an unjust settlement which would legitimize the Zionist state of Israel and deny the right of self-determination to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

With the UN force in place in the Mideast, the full weight of the great powers is placed behind the stabilization of the situation. Any action against Israel — whether by the Palestinians or the Arab states — can then be safely labelled "aggression" and condemned throughout the world.

This would serve the interests of Washington, Moscow and Israel. The main losers would be the Palestinian masses, expelled from their homeland by the Zionist state.

Canada's role on the UN force is to safeguard the interests of imperialism, most particularly those of the U.S. Its record of similar "peacekeeping" missions in Korea (1950-54), Egypt (1956-67), the Congo (1960-64), Cyprus (1964 to date), Vietnam (1973) and elsewhere shows that Canada has the experience and political sophistication to play this role with finesse.

To date there has been very little opposition in this country to Canadian intervention in the Mideast. This is due to the deep illusions in UN "peacekeeping" that the ruling class has promoted. In this light, the positions of the NDP leadership on the Mideast are particularly reprehensible. In fact, NDP leader David Lewis, and foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin, statements have been among the most bellicose anti-Arab and pro-Israel comments heard in the House of Commons.

On Oct. 22, Lewis characterized the Arabs as "a lynch mob ready to tear Israel apart." Then, mustering up his best cold war rhetoric, he added: "Israel must not be abandoned by the civilized world, particularly in view of the ruthless attitude of the Soviet Union."

With no sign of a just peace in the Mideast — one which is based on the right of the Palestinians to control their homeland — supporters of the Arab cause have a great responsibility to tell Canadians the truth about the situation in the Middle East. A big part of this educational campaign is explaining Canada's role in this international assault on the rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

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Peruvian revolutionist

Hugo Blanco on the permanent revolution

A Quebecois filmmaker interviewed Hugo Blanco in Chile shortly before the coup. Blanco's responses to her questions form the substance of a film now being shown in various areas across Canada by the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Because of the circumstances under which the film was made, and his narrow escape from the bloodbath in Chile, Blanco has not been able to edit the text of his remarks. The translation from the Spanish is by Labor Challenge.

The main body of the film is preceded by a series of brief replies to questions posed to Blanco by the monthly magazine Libertad on Jan. 1, 1971, shortly after he was released from prison in Peru.

Hugo Blanco gained international fame in the early 1960s as a peasant union organizer in the Valley of La Convencion in the Cuzco region of Peru. The peasants were peacefully occupying lands that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963, more than 300 such occupations took place.

The landowners used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions responded by creating self-defense units. In 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured, jailed and accused of shooting several policemen. At his trial in 1966, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison — only saved from the death penalty by a worldwide defense campaign on his behalf.

After serving seven and one-half years in jail, Blanco was released as part of a general amnesty for political prisoners in Peru on Dec. 22, 1970.

Later, he was forcibly exiled, and stayed for short periods in Mexico and Argentina, where he was jailed, before being granted asylum by the Popular Unity government in Chile. He escaped from Chile after the coup, and was given asylum in Sweden, where he now resides.

* * *

Question. What are your immediate and long-range plans?

Answer. I intend to continue fighting for the world socialist revolution in the ranks of the Fourth International.

Q. How do you feel about the life you have chosen, devoting your life to the revolution?
A. I am doing my duty as a man in this epoch.

Q. Would you prefer not to have been born in this stage of history?
A. This is the best age to be born in.

Q. Would you like to have been born in the age of socialism or communism?
A. I think that it is best to have been born in the age of permanent revolution.

* * *

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The analysis made by Leon Trotsky shows that the development of our countries does not happen uniformly, in the standard way that it happened in the advanced capitalist countries. Rather, in these countries, together with capitalist forms, with the overall capitalist reality of these countries, we see precapitalist forms, such as feudal forms and even some types of semi-communal forms similar to primitive communism. This can be seen for example in the native communities in Peru. In Brazil, we can still see some elements of slavery in the countryside.

The situation in our countries is very complex, precisely because they arrived late to capitalist development. They could not progress in the standard way that the highly-industrialized countries did. But neither are they immune from the influence of those countries. That is why in our hinterlands, in places where the inhabitants hardly know how to use a knife — or rather, that's all they know of civilization — sometimes we see a bottle of coca-cola, which demonstrates the uneven and combined development of our society. In our slums we see television antennas.

In order to deal with the struggle in this context, Trotsky developed the theory of permanent revolution, which explains this situation in all its complexity. The society of our countries, in its principal features, is capitalist, and not semi-feudal as Stalinist reformism would have it. However backward the basic economy of our countries may be, the economy is fundamentally of the capitalist type, and a socialist revolution is therefore required. Capitalism was first rooted in our countries with the coming of the Spanish — who did not come to plant potatoes, but to take out the gold. This capitalist implantation has grown since then.

It is totally naive to talk of a revolution in our countries that is not socialist. One of the main points made by Che Guevara, and defended by us, dealt with this. He declared that the revolution in Latin America must be socialist — or it will be caricature of a revolution. But the fact that the revolution is socialist, given the capitalist character of the reality of our countries, does not mean that no bourgeois democratic tasks remain to be accomplished. For example, we will have to know how to deal with the situation in the Peruvian countryside where there are some relations of production which are still of a feudal type. We will have to be able to provide correct answers to these problems. To try to collectivize by force these sectors in the countryside, where the remains of feudalism survive, would be adventurist, the type of adventurism sometimes committed even by bourgeois governments. For example, even the government of Velasco (president of the left-wing military regime in Peru) has tried to collectivize some areas of the countryside by force — of course bureaucratically and under the direction of the bourgeoisie — but the result of it was a drop in productivity in agriculture, and the peasants did not want to work on this land. All these factors must be taken into account.

We also have to take into consideration the imperialist oppression suffered by our countries. The national bourgeoisie has not been capable of overcoming the precapitalist

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forms. Nor has it been capable of liberating our countries from imperialist oppression. It could not do so in the past, nor will it be able to do so in the future. That is why our tasks — both democratic and socialist — can only be realized through the socialist revolution headed by the working class.

WORKERS MUST LEAD

The fact that the working class might not be the majority in some of our countries does not negate the socialist and proletarian character of our revolution, because the importance of the working class is not quantitative, but qualitative. It is the working class which works in the fundamental sectors of the economy of our societies. Even in countries like Bolivia, which is considered one of the most backward countries on the continent, we have seen that the working class is in the vanguard of the revolution which is on the agenda in Latin America. And not only in the last few years. In 1952, the working class in the mines of Bolivia headed the struggle. It was not the peasantry. The fact that on some occasions, or in some struggles, a non-proletarian sector led the struggle, does not contradict the vanguard role of the working class in the revolution.

Examples of this can be seen in those countries where the students have entered the struggle and have awakened prior to the working class, or in some countries where it was the peasantry that headed the fight, as in Peru, in the years when we were working in the La Convencion valley, or in Brazil during the same period. This is also seen in countries which are not colonies or semi-colonies — in the advanced countries. The upsurge of the student movement in France in 1968 served as a detonator of the whole process which then opened up. In the United States, it was not the working class that initiated the rising struggle. But there is no doubt that only the working class can lead the socialist revolution. Any other sector may serve as a detonator, but if the working class does not take the lead, the socialist revolution will not succeed.

Another Trotskyist concept (very closely linked to the permanent revolution), is the Transitional Program. By the transitional program, we understand a series of points, a series of demands, which beginning from those needs most felt by the masses, provides an answer to these needs, and slowly raises the level of consciousness, combativity and organization of the masses. The transitional program is opposed to the concept of "maximum program and minimum program" because we understand that there is no mechanical separation between the gains which can be obtained now (not only by the working class but by all exploited sectors) and the struggle for socialism. We think that it is precisely by beginning with the current problems which are most deeply felt by the masses, that they will educate themselves through their own struggles.

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Reformists assert that we must keep the struggle for reforms within the capitalist system, and that step by step, we can slowly arrive at socialism. The ultralefts assert that the masses will learn through the example of some vanguard groups, in isolation. Both reformism and ultraleftism have no confidence in the capacity of the masses to learn through their own struggles. And this is the essence of the transitional program. Unfortunately, I do not have the time to explain the program fully, nor to provide examples which could illustrate this process more graphically. I would only like to point out that demands such as workers control are typical of the demands of the transitional program. They do not seek to adapt themselves to this system, nor do they lose touch with the needs most keenly felt at this time by the masses.

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→p.3

Hugo Blanco

Land or Death

by Hugo Blanco

With an introduction by Peter Camejo.
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International. We know of no other movement which sees as its goal the construction of a world party of revolution.

The Fourth International was founded in a very difficult period. Unlike the first three, the Fourth International originated in a period of downturn of the world revolution. Undoubtedly, this makes its development difficult because the development of the vanguard is, in a way, a reflection of the development of the class struggle. We know that our work in constructing the Fourth International is deficient in many ways. We have not yet constructed a mass organization. But we know of no other movement that is doing this better than we are. No other movement is even trying to build an international party, even to the inadequate degree to which we have built our world party. Therefore, we can claim this achievement for the Fourth International.

In the rising revolutionary process that confronts our world today, the Fourth International continues to develop, because reality continues to demonstrate the correctness of our Trotskyist analysis. And the rising of the masses reflects itself in the growth and strengthing of the Fourth International, as much in numbers as qualitatively in the correctness of its policies.

Undoubtedly there are contradictions inside the Fourth International, but they are contradictions of development. They are a product of the rise of world revolution, and we are confident that with each rise, the construction of the Fourth International goes forward. The role played by the Fourth International in the antiwar movement — the solidarity with the Vietnamese on a world scale — is a very important accomplishment, one of the most important accomplishments in the life of the Fourth International. It succeeded in organizing united fronts in various countries free of sectarianism, which supported the Vietnamese people and opposed U.S. imperialist intervention designed to destroy the Vietnamese. This is an example of how much more can be accomplished by the continued strengthening of this world party, the Fourth International.

I think I have outlined roughly some general principles of Trotskyism and the reason for our existence. There are other phenomena which also illustrate the necessity for the Trotskyist analysis in our epoch. Trotsky analysed, better than anyone else, the character of dual power in prerevolutionary periods, and the significance of dual power. We witnessed in countries like Bolivia, in the insurrection of 1952, and now in Chile, the surging forward of embryos of dual power — of popular power and working class power confronting bourgeois power. We have also seen, sometimes in a partial way, as in the Cordobazo (a semi-insurrectional upsurge in the Argentine city of Cordoba in 1969) and in La Convencion, the surging forward of organizations which represent the interests of the masses opposed to the interests of the ruling class. These organizations not only reflected the interests of the masses, but also began to exercise part of the power, in order later to take away all power exercised by the bourgeoisie and other ruling classes.

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PEASANT UNION banner reads, 'Land or Death! We shall win!'

BLANCO (CENTER) WITH PEASANTS and other members of guerrilla group.

Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco on the Permanent Revolution

(from Labor Challenge, Dec. 1973)

A Québécois filmmaker interviewed Hugo Blanco in Chile shortly before the coup. Blanco's responses to her questions form the substance of a film now being shown in various areas across Canada by the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Because of the circumstances under which the film was made, and his narrow escape from the bloodbath in Chile, Blanco has not been able to edit the text of his remarks. The translation from the Spanish is by Labor Challenge.

The main body of the film is preceded by a series of brief replies to questions posed to Blanco by the monthly magazine Libertad *on Jan. 1, 1971, shortly after he was released from prison in Peru.*

Hugo Blanco gained international fame in the early 1960s as a peasant union organizer in the Valley of La Convencion in the Cuzco region of Peru. The peasants were peacefully occupying lands that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963, more than 300 such occupations took place.

The landowners used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions responded by creating self- defense units. In 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured, jailed and accused of shooting several policemen.

At his trial in 1966, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison — only saved from the death penalty by a worldwide defense campaign on his behalf.

After serving seven and one-half years in jail, Blanco was released as part of a general amnesty for political prisoners in Peru on Dec. 22, 1970.

Later, he was forcibly exiled, and stayed for short periods in Mexico and Argentina, where he was jailed, before being granted asylum by the Popular Unity government in Chile. He escaped from Chile after the coup, and was given asylum in Sweden, where he now resides.

* * *

Question. What are your immediate and long-range plans?
Answer. I intend to continue fighting for the world socialist revolution in the ranks of the Fourth International.

Q. How do you feel about the life you have chosen, devoting your life to the revolution?
A. I am doing my duty as a man in this epoch.

Q. Would you prefer not to have been born in this stage of history?
A. This is the best age to be born in.

Q. Would you like to have been born in the age of socialism or communism?
A. I think that it is best to have been born in
the age of permanent revolution.

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The analysis made by Leon Trotsky shows that the development of our countries does not happen uniformly, in the standard way that it happened in the advanced capitalist countries. Rather, in these countries, together with capitalist forms, with the overall capitalist reality of these countries, we see precapitalist forms, such as feudal forms and even some types of semi-communal forms similar to primitive communism. This can be seen for example in the native communities in Peru. In Brazil, we can still see some elements of slavery in the countryside.

The situation in our countries is very complex, precisely because they arrived late to capitalist development. They could not progress in the standard way that the highly-industrialized countries did. But neither are they immune from the influence of those countries. That is why in our hinterlands, in places where the inhabitants hardly know how to use a knife — or rather, that's all they know of civilization — sometimes we see a bottle of coca-cola, which demonstrates the uneven and combined development of our society. In our slums we see television antennas.

In order to deal with the struggle in this context, Trotsky developed the theory of permanent revolution, which explains this situation in all its complexity. The society of our countries, in its principal features, is capitalist, and not semi-feudal as Stalinist reformism would have it. However backward the basic economy of our countries may be, the economy is fundamentally of the capitalist type, and a socialist revolution is therefore required. Capitalism was first rooted in our countries with the coming of the Spanish — who did not come to plant potatoes, but to take out the gold. This capitalist implantation has grown since then.

It is totally naive to talk of a revolution in our countries that is not socialist. One of the main points made by Che Guevara, and defended by us, dealt with this. He declared that the revolution in Latin America must be socialist — or it will be caricature of a revolution. But the fact that the revolution is socialist, given the capitalist character of the reality of our countries, does not mean that no bourgeois democratic tasks remain to be accomplished. For example, we will have to know how to deal with the situation in the Peruvian countryside where there are some relations of production which are still of a feudal type. We will have to be able to provide correct answers to these problems. To try to collectivize by force these sectors in the countryside, where the remains of feudalism survive, would be adventurist, the type of adventurism sometimes committed even by bourgeois governments. For example, even the government of Velasco (president of the

left-wing military regime in Peru) has tried to collectivize some areas of the countryside by force — of course bureaucratically and under the direction of the bourgeoisie — but the result of it was a drop in productivity in agriculture, and the peasants did not want to work on this land. All these factors must be taken into account.

We also have to take into consideration the imperialist oppression suffered by our countries. The national bourgeoisie has not been capable of overcoming the precapitalist forms. Nor has it been capable of liberating our countries from imperialist oppression. It could not do so in the past, nor will it be able to do so in the future. That is why our tasks — both democratic and socialist — can only be realized through the socialist revolution headed by the working class.

WORKERS MUST LEAD

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(end)

labor Challenge #91 Dec 1973

In Brief

POLITICAL RIGHTS DENIED McGILL YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The McGill University Young Socialists have been threatened with denial of their status as a student club by the McGill Students Society. The politically motivated move would deny the YS access to Society funds and facilities.

Some months ago Students Society vice-president Mark Bernier told the Young Socialists' Don Tapscott that YS club status would not be reinstated until a new constitution had been submitted for ratification by students council. On Nov. 21 a council sub-committee rejected the revised constitution as "unconstitutional."

Bernier has admitted that political groups are not denied club status by the Students Society constitution. But, he said, "I don't think that the Students Society should support political organizations — that's a personal decision each student should make for himself."

Tapscott labelled council's action as an attack on the democratic rights of all students to organize politically and express their views. He called for a broad united defense of political rights at McGill.

COURT RULES IN FAVOR OF HUMBERTO PAGAN

In a unanimous decision, the Federal Court of Canada has dismissed an appeal from the United States for the extradition of Humberto Pagan, a 22-year-old Puerto Rican residing in Canada. Pagan faces frameup charges of murder if he is returned to the U.S. — in connection with the death of a policeman when police attacked a student demonstration in San Juan, Puerto Rico in March 1971.

Pagan's court battle began when he fled to Canada in 1971. Last year, it seemed to end in victory when a district judge rejected the U.S. request for extradition. But the U.S. government appealed once more, leading to this latest court case. The U.S. may now appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, but the case is in abeyance until Dec. 20.

Pagan is also appealing a Canadian government deportation order to the Federal Court.

FORUM HEARS TEACHER, STUDENT ACTIVISTS

Only a strategy of mass action based on student-teacher unity can defeat government cutbacks in education spending, Liz Barkley told Toronto's Vanguard Forum Nov. 16.

Barkley, a member of District 13 of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) was a guest of the Forum on a panel which included Syd Rogers, member of OSSTF District 15 executive; Manuel Azevedo, Student Council president at Harbord Collegiate; and Wendy Culbert, former vice-president of Eastern Commerce Students Council, and a member of the Young Socialists.

Some 60 people attended the forum to discuss the roots of the education cutbacks and a strategy to fight back.

Toronto Vanguard Forums are held at 8:00 on Friday nights at 334 Queen St. W. For further information phone 363-9618.

2637 new readers

Subscription drive a success

by GRANT HARGRAVE

That last push did it. We are over the top in our subscription drive, with 101 percent of our goal.

On Sept. 4, Labor Challenge, in cooperation with the student monthly Young Socialist and the French-language socialist and independentist monthly Liberation, launched a drive to get a total of 2,500 new readers. Our final total is 2,637 subscriptions, comfortably over the increased goal of 2,600 that we projected.

The undeniable leaders of the '74 drive were Winnipeg and Ottawa. Both areas made more than 200 percent of their quotas. Their spectacular results provided not only inspiration for sub-sellers in other areas, but a surplus of subscriptions that made the achievement of the cross country total possible.

Top salesperson in the drive was Doug Winston of Toronto, with a grand total of 57 subscriptions. There is talk of making Doug a separate "area" to be listed on the scoreboard next year! When asked the secret of his success, Doug claimed there was none. "I just take advantage of every possible opportunity to sell, and show the paper to as many people as I can," he told us. An example of the results of showing the paper as widely as possible, was the success of supporters from Toronto who went to McMaster University in Hamilton during the last week of the drive. In one day they sold 59 subs.

All areas report that their best sales took place on campus lit tables, with campus dorms a close second. Among the other areas where large numbers of subs were sold were meetings and demonstrations such as those against the repression in Chile, or in defense of Dr. Morgentaler. Supporters in B.C. were able to sell nearly 90 subscriptions at NDP and labor meetings.

The two English-language papers received almost the same number of subs, with Labor Challenge only 100 subs ahead of the Young Socialist. Liberation found more than 300 new subscribers.

The success of the subscription sales indicates that despite the relative "lull" in mass activity in the last two years, the radicalization is continuing to spread to new forces. This is reflected in the interest in socialist literature and periodicals.

The successful conclusion of the subscription drive means that we can now turn our attention to renewed emphasis on selling single copies of Labor Challenge.

If you're a new reader, write us and we will put you in touch with Labor Challenge supporters in your area. Or we'll be glad to send you a bundle to sell where you work or go to school, or wherever there are people interested in socialist ideas.

And that is almost everywhere.

SCOREBOARD

AREA	GOAL	SUBS	PERCENT
Winnipeg	70	148	211%
Ottawa	100	206	206%
St. Catharines	30	44	147%
Vancouver	325	345	106%
Toronto U of T	200	211	106%
Toronto East	375	382	102%
Montreal	400	363	91%
Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph	100	86	86%
Toronto West	425	358	84%
Edmonton	250	201	80%
General	325	293	90%
TOTAL	2,600	2,637	101%

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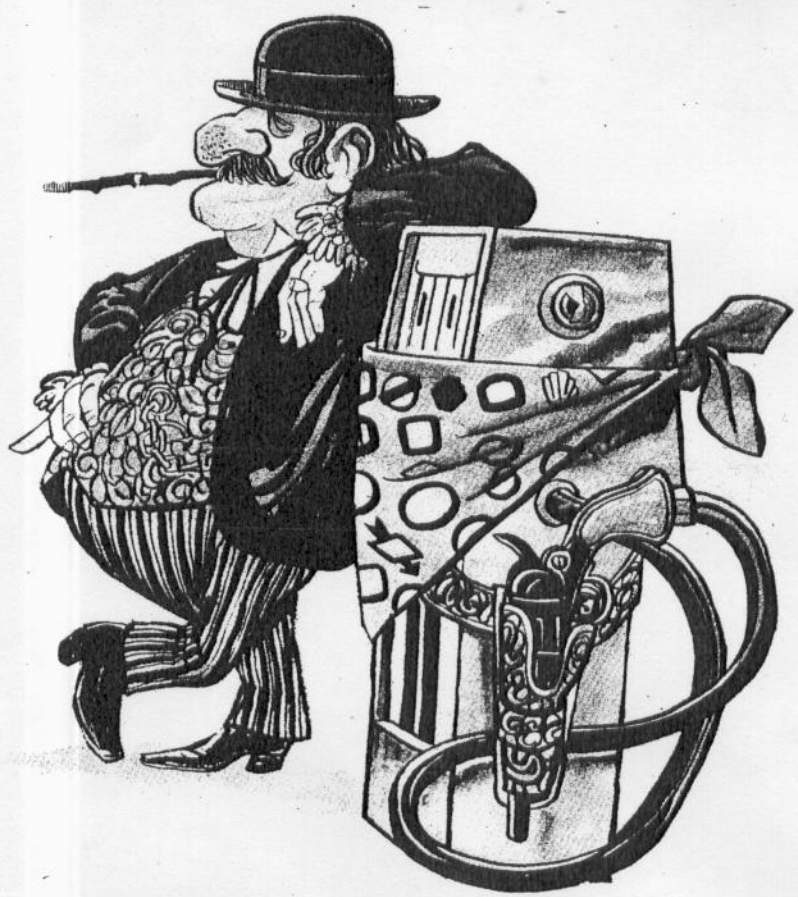
OIL TRUSTS, GOV'T ROB WORKING PEOPLE



by DENNIS MARLON

"An immense victory for the NDP," was how David Lewis evaluated the government's Dec. 6 announcement of its new energy policy. "Mr. Trudeau has accepted our program."

Lewis, who proceeded to support the Liberal government against a Conservative no-confidence motion, and the big business press represented Trudeau's announcement as a dramatic policy change. In fact the Trudeau government announcement was designed to stave off immense public pressure directed at the government for its connivance with the oil cartel.

In fact, the new proposals, while more clearly defining the government's priorities, fundamentally represent a continuation of Liberal government policy. Its aims are concerned with the well-being of Canadian big business, not the energy needs of the Canadian people.

Just what is Trudeau's new policy?

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Trudeau's policy, which he claimed "will ensure

Dr. Morgentaler speaks

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for Canadians a more significant role in the development of their own resources," includes the following major points:

- The present "freeze" on domestic oil prices, scheduled to end Jan. 31, will be extended at least until spring. The government will appeal to the oil companies to accept this completely voluntary measure.
- The government will put about $40 million into the creation of a publicly-owned oil company to concentrate on oil and gas exploration in the north and along the east coast. It will also use public funds to participate in the development of the Alberta tar sands.
- The government is wiping out the 1961 oil policy that divided the country into two sectors, Ontario and the west supplied by Canadian oil, and Quebec and the Atlantic provinces supplied by imported oil. Now there will be one oil market.
- The 28-company consortium planning to build the Mackenzie Valley pipeline will be encouraged to proceed as soon as possible.
- Trudeau suggested that Canada is ready to sign an agreement with the U.S. providing for equal

see page 5

An NDP victory?

Oil policy serves bosses

continued from page 1

treatment of pipelines going through each other's countries.

- Construction of a pipeline to carry western oil to Montreal will proceed quickly.

The government claims that it is acting in order to cope with an international energy crisis. Is there really a shortage of oil? Who is to blame for the "energy crisis?"

The public doesn't know whether a long-term shortage exists. The corporations and governments should be forced to open their books to prove it.

But certainly the claim that there is a short-term oil shortage is untrue. The Nov. 19 New York Times produced figures which estimate world reserves of oil to be some 550 billion barrels, enough to last two centuries at the present world consumption rate. A Standard Oil of California executive told Pacific News Service that one oil field in Saudi Arabia alone is able to produce an estimated 80 million barrels of oil — as much as the U.S. has used in its entire history.

What is also clear is that the giant oil monopolies have been reducing their oil output in order to jack up prices and squeeze out small independent oil companies. A U.S. Senate study this fall showed that cutbacks in the 10 largest refinery operations made this winter's shortages "inevitable."

The treasurer of Exxon (formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey) made it explicit: "Unless and until the real nature of the crisis is understood, and profit levels become such that the industry is confident that its investments will bear fruit, the supply of energy required will not be forthcoming." In other words, the oil companies will produce when the prices go up.

In creating the "crisis," the oil cartels hope not only to hoist their prices (and profits), they also want to use public concern about the "shortages" to relax pollution regulations, and to whip up hysteria against the Arabs, whose national struggle threatens the cartel's profits.

Is the Canadian government fighting the oil trusts?

Trudeau cooperates with the oil companies. His extension of the oil "freeze" is a "voluntary" partial measure, and only for a few months. With the incredible rise in the international price of oil, a hefty price increase is inevitable when the freeze is removed in the spring. Thus, what Trudeau is actually doing is approving future price rises, on top of the already-soaring prices that have occurred despite his "voluntary" freeze.

The government is going ahead with the Mackenzie pipeline, in defiance of native rights and the ecological dangers. Pollution regulations are expected to be relaxed. The government has not changed its pro-Israel policy in the Mideast.

The "national petroleum company" that Trudeau projects poses no danger or competition for the oil cartel. While a national petroleum company might be used at some future point as a lever to influence the oil companies or the U.S. government, the present projections make it almost meaningless. Its function will be limited to exploration and development, leaving the more profitable refining and distribution to the corporations. And the proposed budget of only $40 million over five years is a drop in the bucket compared to the capital reserves of the oil cartel.

Is the government then, as the nationalists say, just acting as a tool of the giant U.S.-based multinational corporations?

The energy policy of the Trudeau government is shaped with primarily the interests of the Canadian capitalist class in mind. Where those interests come into conflict with the American capitalists, the government uses its not-inconsiderable power to back Canadian (capitalist) interests.

The extension of the oil price freeze will help Canadian industry compete more effectively on the international market, due to lower prices for energy. It also gives the industrialists more time to adjust to the eventual rise in prices. Ontario premier William Davis put the point across Dec. 10, speaking to the Canadian Club in Toronto: "In short, the peculiar nature of this crisis — one which is characterized by production constraints and shortages of goods worldwide — may actually create substitution opportunities in the import-export domain for Ontario producers, and I look for a positive get-up-and-go

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David Lewis

response from the business sector, which will ensure strong growth next year."

The federal government is firmly committed to extending pipeline facilities to Montreal, to make Canadian industry more self-sufficient in energy and less under U.S. and international pressure. The government is putting public funds into the pipeline despite the opposition of the oil companies. As Trudeau stated Nov. 23, "if the private sector . . . does not see the reasons for building it (the pipeline) we will make sure it is built with public funds."

From the point of view of the international oil corporations, the Montreal pipeline serves no purpose, since they own the oil wells and refineries in Canada, the U.S., the Mideast and Latin America. North-south trade between Alberta and the U.S. would be more profitable for them than shipping it east. They would prefer that the Eastern Canadian market remain captive of their overseas operations, so that they can more effectively control supply and jack up prices.

The government moves are designed to put Canadian business first. Trudeau wants to make sure that Canadian corporations get first call on Canadian oil. "No longer will we have two oil policies, but one," Trudeau said. "Western Canada will have a guaranteed outlet for its surpluses and eastern Canada will be guaranteed of supply."

This comes in the context of the possibility that the oil companies may cut back production in retaliation. Such a threat was implied by a Gulf oil executive Nov. 20: "Any move to cut off or sharply reduce exports would have to be a blind, emotional, ostrich-type reaction to a problem, which would quickly get us into a hole — and it would not be the kind of hole that would yield oil."

What is involved in Canadian government policy is a readjustment of relations with the oil companies. Ottawa is able to take this step to strengthen Canadian capital internationally, because of its oil surplus, and because of the relatively weakened position of U.S. imperialism internationally, caused by increased competition between the various imperialist powers. This gives the Canadian capitalist class more maneuverability.

This shift, however, does not represent a break with the longstanding "special relationship" with U.S. capitalism. This was reaffirmed by Trudeau, who defined his policy as designed to "open up to Canadians and to Canadian products the countries and markets of the world. The United States ranks first among those countries and markets."

What has the NDP's role been in all this?

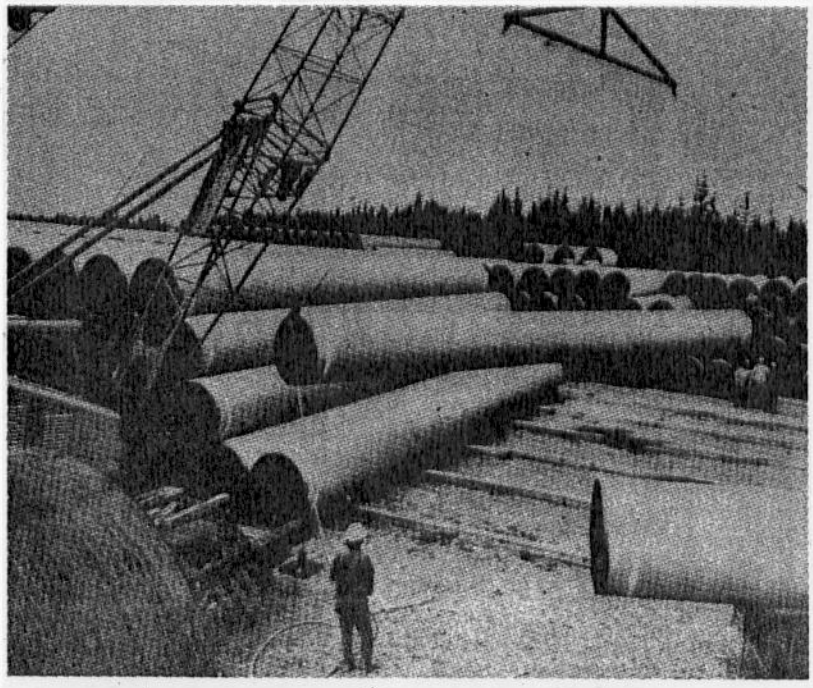
"Mr. Trudeau has given the New Democrats just about everything they asked for," commented the Toronto Globe and Mail after Trudeau's announcement. Everything now indicates that the NDP will continue its de facto parliamentary alliance with the Liberals into the spring.

It is true that the measures announced by Trudeau Dec. 6 had been previously proposed by the NDP. Most of these proposals were also contained in the government's energy study released last June. The government was able to pick up the NDP energy program because that policy was completely consistent with Canadian capitalist interests, and represented no challenge to the power of the corporations.

In the end, all the Liberals gave the NDP was an appearance of pressuring the Liberals. In return, the NDP gave its commitment to keep the Liberals in office.

The losers in the shuffle are the working people of Canada, who will have to pay more — for their oil and gas, and for other goods whose higher overhead costs will be passed on by the manufacturers. The solution for them is not more control of the oil industry by the state, in the interests of Canadian capitalists who only want a bigger slice of the profits for themselves. The government and NDP policy completely fails to break with the oil trusts.

Rather, the only real solution is the rational planning of the oil industry to meet the needs of people, rather than the requirements of the profiteers. This can only be accomplished by nationalizing the oil industry from top to bottom and placing it under workers control.



ALASKA PIPELINE. 'Energy crisis' spurred U.S. gov't to approve pipeline. Ottawa now urges construction of Mackenzie Valley pipeline, ignoring danger to environment and native people's rights.

labor Challenge #92 Dec 1973

Dr. Henry Morgentaler:

'Acquittal a tremendous victory'

The following interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler took place in Toronto Nov. 28, just before he addressed a Town Hall meeting of more than 500 people co-sponsored by the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler. The interviewer for Labor Challenge was Lis Angus.

Dr. Morgentaler, a prominent and outspoken supporter of the struggle to win women's right to abortion, was acquitted Nov. 13 of a charge of performing an illegal abortion. This acquittal was front-page news right across the country, and has rekindled a raging controversy on the future of Canada's restrictive abortion law. Women's groups, and Dr. Morgentaler himself, have declared the acquittal to be a victory for women. However, the battle is far from over: the Crown is appealing the acquittal to a higher court, and Dr. Morgentaler still faces trial on twelve remaining charges of a similar nature.

* * *

Question: How do you see the significance of your acquittal?

Answer. I'm not sure I can answer that — my bail conditions impose certain restrictions on me.

Q. All right. Why don't we start, then, by outlining the restrictions you are under.

A. I am not allowed to speak either about the twelve charges which have not yet come to trial, or about the case which has been tried and which is now being appealed. I also may not give press conferences, or be interviewed on radio or television. But they forgot to tell me not to speak to representatives of the press individually — which I am doing — or not to speak at public meetings — which I am also doing.

But further on the significance of the acquittal — I don't believe that even if the acquittal is upheld, the recognition of Article 45 will make much difference. (The defense was based on Article 45 of the Criminal Code, which protects a doctor from prosecution if a surgical procedure was carried out with "reasonable care and skill" and for the health of the patient — Ed.) The onus is still on the doctor to prove that Article 45 applies — he has to face prosecution, a trial, a possible jail sentence, and the stress attendant on all of these. I don't forsee that many more doctors will do abortions under these conditions.

What would make a difference is to repeal the abortion law altogether, and to establish specialized abortion clinics across the country. This is why I offered my clinic to the provincial government to train doctors and nurses in the newest and safest methods of abortion.

Q. How do you see that your case — and the acquittal — relate to the general struggles for women's rights?

A. The acquittal was a tremendous victory. An all-French jury — all of them Catholics — basically agreed with the proposition that an abortion done by a doctor in the interests of a patient is not subject to the law. It was a recognition that abortion is a private matter not subject to the law.

I also think it shows the emancipation of the French Canadian masses from the yoke of the Catholic church and its dogmatic values. I think it is a sign of the tremendous loss of power which the Catholic church is beginning to suffer.

Q. What do you think of the "right to life" groups and the role played by the Catholic church in supporting the anti-abortion campaign, and in particular their attacks on you personally?

A. I respect people opposed to abortion on personal and religious grounds. They should practice what they preach on themselves. They should not try to impose their decision on others. I have only contempt for the lunatic fringe — the fanatics who want to impose their brand of intolerance, their so-called philosophy, on all people of Canada.

Q. What do you think of the role of the government in relation to your prosecution and in relation to abortion rights in general?

A. The government is under pressure from what I call the CCP's — the "Crusaders for Compulsory Pregnancy."

The government has shown a callous disregard for the rights of women; its indifference to the suffering of women borders on the criminal. The federal government has direct moral responsibility for the deaths, injuries and anguish suffered by women in Canada who are unable to obtain legal abortions and are exposed to the dangers attendant upon either late abortion (caused by red tape and legal restrictions) or back-alley abortions.

It is high time that progressive forces make it clear that the majority of Canadians are in favor of repeal of the laws and will not forgive the government for not acting.

Q. What kind of support have you been receiving?

A. I have been getting tremendous support from all over the country. There are Morgentaler defense committees in all major cities. I have been getting support from the NDP, from some MP's and doctors, from women's groups, and from organizations like the Humanists and the Unitarians.

I have also received some international support. There is an international defense committee, founded by members of the American Humanist Association.

Q. What has been the response of doctors to your case?

A. Mostly favorable. I have received many telegrams of support from doctors . . . many of course are unwilling to take public positions, but many are active in the defense committees and working for repeal.

Q. When you declared publicly in March of this year, at the conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, that you had been performing abortions, what did you hope to achieve?

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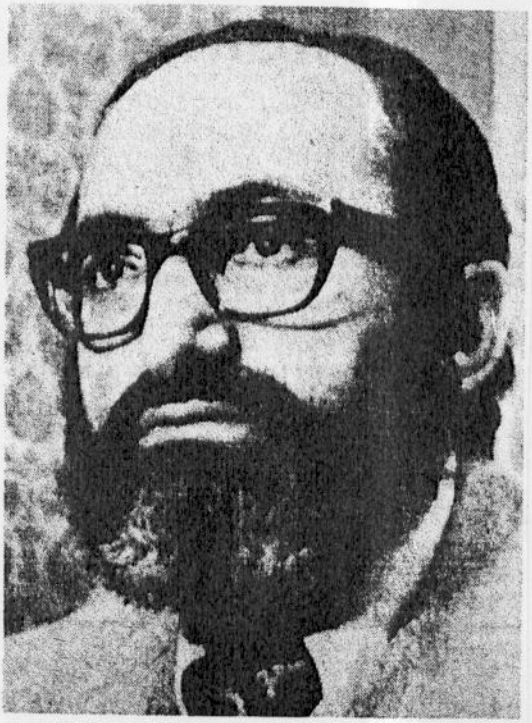

DR. HENRY MORGENTALER: 'I have been getting tremendous support from all over the country.'

p. 2

A. I wanted to educate the public — that there is a safe method of abortion which is denied to the population. I arranged to have an abortion in my clinic televised on May 13 — to show again that this is a safe, medically-sound procedure, that it can be done without a hospital, that there is no gore involved, that it can be done in conditions of emotional support and human compassion. Most women walk out with a smile and feel relieved, with no anxiety . . . I also wanted to prove to MP's and the medical profession the benefits of the method I pioneered and to a certain extent perfected.

Q. What do you think the next few years hold in store?

A. I am confident that within the next two or three years — I hope sooner — that the abortion law will be repealed, as in the U.S. But it will not be automatic. It is important that people work and fight for it, otherwise it will never come.

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Meetings building Morgentaler defense

by ANN McALLISTER

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician charged with performing illegal abortions, won another skirmish in the courts Nov. 28. Crown Prosecutor Louis Robichaud claimed that Dr. Morgentaler had broken the conditions of his bail by reopening his clinic after his acquittal on the first charge, and that he should be imprisoned pending trial on the remaining 12 charges.

The judge ruled against the Crown, holding that there was no legal reason to stop Dr. Morgentaler from operating his clinic. However, a defense motion to have all bail restrictions, such as the ban on press conferences removed, was denied by the court.

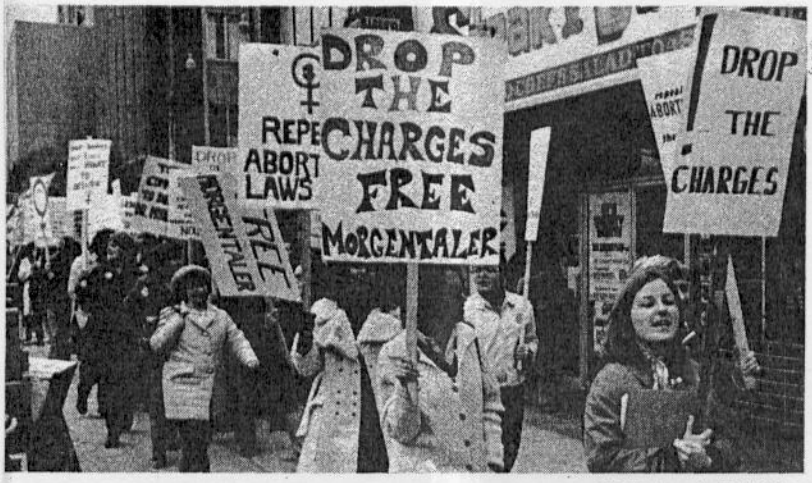

photo by Jeff White

DROP THE CHARGES, FREE MORGENTALER say Toronto demonstrators Oct. 27.

On Dec. 4, the preliminary hearing in the case of Dr. Yvan Macchabee, an associate of Dr. Morgentaler, was postponed until late January, when the Crown's witness could not identify Dr. Macchabee as the man who had performed her abortion.

Committees in defense of Dr. Morgentaler are active in all the major cities of Canada. The recently-completed tour of Anna Cushman, coordinator of the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, served to gear up the committees for the continuation of the campaign.

Cushman reminded audiences in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver that "although the abortion law is federal and we must focus our demands on the government in Ottawa, attacks on women's right to abortion also occur on the local and provincial level. In Alberta there is a private members' bill (Bill 220) which would remove abortion from provincial medicare and Vancouver General Hospital has instituted a six month residency requirement for women needing abortions." In Winnipeg, Brenda Dineen called on the provincial NDP government "to endorse federal NDP policy for abortion law repeal and to implement this policy by establishing abortion clinics throughout the province of Manitoba."

In Toronto on November 28, an audience of more than 500 attended a rally at the St. Lawrence Centre, sponsored by the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler and the Toronto Arts Foundation.

The vocal anti-abortion minority of the audience was told by NDP MP Grace MacInnis that "nobody will force an abortion on them and they have no right to force their beliefs on us."

100 persons attended a rally in Ottawa on Saturday, Dec. 8 followed by a march to Parliament Hill. The rally was addressed by many prominent speakers including Brenda Zannis of the Montreal French-speaking Committee to defend Dr. Morgentaler, PC MP Peter Reilly, Irving Greenberg, NDP candidate in Ottawa during the last federal election and Anna Cushman of Toronto. Zannis reported on the events in the courts, the cruel injustice of the abortion law especially in Quebec and the importance of carrying the struggle forward.

Wendy Johnston, coordinator of the Ottawa committee, urged "all those who support Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Macchabee to build the strongest and broadest possible campaign to get all charges against them dropped."

Cushman outlined the many ways the campaign could be built and carried forward: "Our power is in our numbers. Our power is the power that people have used for centuries — the power of people demonstrating for their rights. Even if parliament is not in session when we get there today, Pierre Trudeau and Justice Minister Otto Lang know we're there!

"The defenders of Drs. Morgentaler and Macchabee have tasted a small bit of the sweetness of victory, but we are not going to stop. We are going to build this campaign until we have won the whole thing — we are not going to stop until all charges against Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Macchabee have been dropped and abortion has been removed from the Criminal Code."

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Man. NDP debates resources policy

by BRENDA DINEEN

WINNIPEG — Increasing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Manitoba NDP with the record of the Schreyer government was indicated among the 500 delegates to the party's annual convention here Nov. 30 to Dec. 2.

In his main address to the convention, a recitation of the accomplishments of his government, Premier Schreyer referred to "the phenomonon of rising expectations" in the party.

A large number of resolutions submitted to the convention criticized the NDP government on a series of issues. A Women's Liaison Committee was organized to push for women's rights.

The resources question was at the center of much of the convention's discussion. Delegates heard David Lewis denounce the multinational oil corporations as "princes of the welfare bums," and attack the tax breaks granted them by the federal government.

"The litany of this ripoff was offensive before," he said to applause from the delegates, "but what it has become in the past year borders on the edge of larceny, if it isn't in fact larceny."

The corporate ripoff in Manitoba's mineral resources industry received the delegates' attention. A resolution before the convention called for crown development of all mineral resources in the future, and urged the government to "repatriate currently-assigned mineral rights over the next five years," while increasing taxation on the mining companies.

"If somebody is looting your home, it's small compensation to you if he pays you a couple of bucks to carry the goods to the getaway truck," argued one delegate.

In fact, the resolution falls considerably short of the recommendations of the Kierans report, prepared by the former Liberal cabinet minister for the Manitoba government last February, which called for a provincial takeover within 10 years of all mining operations in Manitoba, except secondary ore-refining.

"Here is Mr. Kierans, a confirmed Liberal," remarked a St. George delegate, "setting the pace that we are dragging our feet to keep up with."

Even so, Mines and Resources minister Sydney Green first attempted to keep the resolution off the floor, then when it was passed, indicated that it would not be implemented.

An important development at the convention was the participation of the NDP Women's Liaison Committee, organized only a month ago. Three meetings of the committee, each of which attracted about 60 women from ridings throughout the province, organized the intervention of woman delegates in the convention debates.

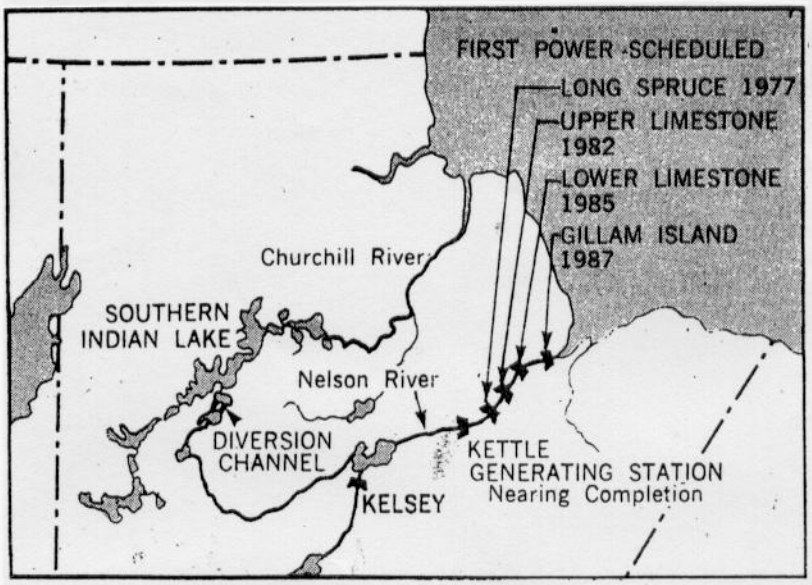
The convention passed a resolution Saturday calling on the provincial government to "immediately implement, with or without cost-sharing from the federal government, a comprehensive children's day care program, providing high quality services to all who need it on an ability to pay basis." Urban affairs minister Saul Miller argued that the word "immediately" should be struck from the resolution. But as several delegates pointed out, universal child care has been NDP policy for years. The full resolution was adopted.

Other resolutions passed by the convention at the initiative of the Women's Liaison Committee included a call for a provincial "status of women commission," a program for equal opportunity for women employed by the Manitoba government, and recommended amendment of the Human Rights Act to prevent discrimination on the basis of sex, marital status, and socio-economic status.

The Women's committee set up a structure to organize ongoing activities of women in the party.

While supporters of the Morgentaler Defense Committee received a good response at their literature table, the powerful convention resolutions committee did not allow a motion calling for repeal of abortion laws onto the floor.

Members and supporters of the League for Socialist Action sold $64 of socialist literature, 80 copies of Labor Challenge and more than 30 copies of the student monthly Young Socialist to the delegates.



CHURCHILL RIVER PROJECT will destroy way of life for 4,000 native people. Schreyer vows to proceed with project, despite native attempts to halt it.

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Alberta women form caucus in NDP

by SHEILA MAWSON

EDMONTON — At an all-day NDP women's conference held here Dec. 1, seventy-five women from Edmonton and points around the province voted unanimously to form a continuing women's caucus within the Alberta New Democratic Party (ANDP).

The caucus, in many ways modelled after the Women's Rights Committee in the B.C. NDP, is the first of its kind in Alberta. Open to all women in the party, its purpose is to fight inside the NDP for a strong women's rights program, to campaign to see that women play leading roles in the NDP, to recruit women to the NDP, and to work with other feminist organizations around common campaigns for women's rights.

The overwhelming majority of women at the conference were NDP members. Many were also active in organizations such as Lesbian Feminists, the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws, the Edmonton Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, Options for Women, the League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists and the feminist newspapers On Our Way and Branching Out.

The conference opened with a panel discussion on the theme "Why political action — Why the NDP?"

Jean McBean, vice-president of the ANDP criticized the failure of the NDP to take effective action around women's rights. Delores Russell, of the Edmonton Social Planning Council underlined the need for women to get involved in the NDP to make sure policies on women's rights were put into action.

Heidi Fischer, Edmonton organizer of the League for Socialist Action emphasized that women's oppression is "not just a question of male chauvinism but a question of who rules this country." It's not enough to support any woman running for any party, she said. The NDP is fundamentally different from the Socreds, Conservatives and Liberals because it is based on the working people and their unions, rather than the ruling class. "The ruling class has no stake in changing women's role," she said. "We have many ideas but we have one thing in common — we are all here at this conference to fight together to win our liberation."

During the workshops and plenary session, a number of issues were discussed and debated. Two points of view emerged on the character of the new organization. ANDP president Nancy Eng argued that the conference should establish a women's organization outside the NDP which could then apply for affiliation to the party as individual trade union locals do. Only seven women supported this proposal.

Those in favor of forming a caucus within the NDP argued that women should not put themselves in the position of "being outside the party looking in."

"Whether the party brass wants to recognize it or not," said Heidi Fischer, "we are an NDP women's caucus right here today."

Towards the end of the conference, two motions put forward by Angella Mueller, chairwoman of the Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, were unanimously adopted.

One called for the caucus to campaign against Bill 220, a private members' bill introduced into the Alberta legislature by a Conservative backbencher, that would remove abortion from the Alberta health insurance plan. The conference demanded that NDP leader Grant Notley, the sole NDP MLA in the legislature, actively oppose the bill.

The second motion called on the NDP federal caucus to support and promote Grace MacInnis's private members' bill for abortion law repeal in the House of Commons.

Conference participants bought 24 copies of the socialist newspapers Labor Challenge and Young Socialist, $22 in Marxist literature from the League for Socialist Action literature table, and eight subscriptions to Labor Challenge.

To continue the work of the caucus, a representative pro tem steering committee was elected. The steering committee plans to produce a newsletter, and to begin preparations for the March, 1974 ANDP convention.

Editorial

New wiretap law OKs gov't spying

Civil liberties suffered another blow Dec. 4 when parliament approved the Wiretap bill. The new law permits the authorities to eavesdrop on the private lives of Canadians. One judge need only agree that police are investigating serious crimes.

Among the activities the police may claim they are looking into in order to get permission to bug, are those they say are "directed towards accomplishing governmental change . . . by force or violence or any criminal means."

For a century, the government has claimed such defense of "national security" as an excuse for attacking its opponents through frameups, spying, and outright violence. Today, Nixon defends his Plumbers' squad and other illegal clandestine activities on these grounds. Only three years ago in Canada, civil liberties were suspended overnight and hundreds of Quebecois jailed without charges when Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act, fraudulently claiming that the country faced an "apprehended insurrection" — a threatened overthrow of the government by force.

Speaking shortly before the bill was adopted, NDP MP Stuart Leggatt reminded the other MPs of the recent revelation that for six months the Quebec Provincial Police had tapped the phones of two leaders of the middle-class nationalist Societe St-Jean Baptiste Society in Montreal. Under the bill, Leggatt said, this kind of government spying would be legalized. The police would only need to tell a judge that they were looking into a case of sedition.

Judges will not be slow to agree to police wiretap requests, we can be sure.

Nor does the bill prohibit the prosecution from using in court evidence that has been gathered through the use of an illegal bug. As a result, the incentive for illegal bugging, going beyond what the bill permits, will be too great for the police to resist.

The bill provides the government with a powerful new tool to use against unionists, Quebec nationalists, socialists, or anyone else who struggles against its policies.

The socialist alternative

Young Socialists

League for Socialist Action

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labor Challenge #92 Dec 1973

In Brief

SASKATCHEWAN NATIVES OCCUPY PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

About 100 northern Saskatchewan natives occupied the provincial legislature Dec. 6 to demand increased powers for native cooperative timber-cutting operations and to protest the sell-out of timber resources to private corporations, at the expense of native wood producers.

Spokesman Bruce Flamont accused the NDP government of helping the same corporate ripoff of resources that federal and provincial NDP politicians condemn.

After meeting with Premier Allan Blakeney on Dec. 8 the natives reluctantly ended the occupation, even though, they said, Blakeney's assurances of aid to the wood producers' cooperatives were full of qualifications and "weasel words."

ONTARIO WAFFLE WORKS TOWARD FORMING NEW PARTY

At a provincial conference Dec. 8-9 the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the overriding goal of the Ontario Waffle is to develop its program and its organization with a view to transforming the Waffle into a political party that struggles for an independent, socialist Canada."

The vote was 115 for, 13 against with 7 abstentions.

NORTHERN MANITOBA WOMEN ORGANIZE

Some 80 women, many of them Indians and Metis, representing more than a dozen northern Manitoba communities met in Thompson Dec. 7-9 to found the Northern Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women.

Conference discussions shed some light on problems faced by Northern women:

Northern Manitoba consists of small, remote and isolated communities — often single-industry towns — where women suffer the most from material hardship and cultural deprivation. All of the issues raised by the women's liberation movement are felt with particular acuteness.

Housing is substandard. Education is of poor quality, and directed to the assimilation of the native population — women complained that their children were forced to speak English at school, and punished if they communicated in Cree.

Among invited speakers to the conference was Brenda Dineen, representing the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition, who pointed to repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws as an important aspect of women's gaining control over their bodies. Medical services of any kind are scandalously sparse in the North, women noted in the ensuing discussion. Birth control information is often inaccessable. Native women reported cases in which their native sisters were subjected to forced sterilization — part of the double oppression faced by Northern Manitoba's aboriginal population.

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labor Challenge #92 Dec 1973

NDP paper defends Arab rights

by RAY WARDEN

As in 1967, the outbreak of war in the Middle East in October of this year has seen the Zionists and their supporters attempt to whip up support for Israel. Massive rallies denounced "Arab aggression," and collected funds for the Israeli war effort, while the media propagandized for the Zionist cause. The parties in the House of Commons have been unanimous in their pro-Israel stance.

Yet this time, the Zionists find a less gullible audience for their propaganda. Since 1967 the impact of the anti-Vietnam-war movement, the Quebec independence movement, and the generalized youth radicalization has led to a greater receptivity to the Palestinian cause. This has been reflected in the NDP, despite its leaders' solidarity with Zionism.

In a significant departure from the pro-Zionist position expounded by the NDP brass, Myron Johnson, editor of the Saskatchewan NDP's newspaper The Commonwealth, attempted to cut through the web of Zionist lies in an Oct. 24 editorial headed "Return Arab Land."

"Much has been heard in pro-Israel circles," Johnson wrote, "of the fact that the Arabs launched the current round of fighting, but little consideration has been given as to why they did so.

"The answer, surely, is that Israel has for more than six years refused to return Arab land captured in the last war. . . . Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Arab frustration and bitterness reached the point that war became inevitable. What is surprising is that it did not happen long before now.

"A second important factor," Johnson continued, "is the longstanding and legitimate grievances of the Arab people of Palestine. The Israeli unwillingness to make amends for the injustices done to the Palestinians uprooted from their homeland has been a major cause of the tension and turmoil in the Middle East."

The federal caucus was outraged. In a letter to the editor printed in the Nov. 21 Commonwealth, NDP MP David Orlikow denounced the editorial as "full of lies and misrepresentations . . . a disgrace . . . an insult to the party and its members" and comparable, at least on one point "with the paranoic rantings of the worst type of anti-Semite."

Lewis and Brewin had made the NDP caucus's position clear in speeches to the House of Commons Oct. 16.

"I often get the impression," Lewis told the Commons, "that I am witnessing a lynch mob ready to tear Israel apart. This is the central issue."

Brewin made the same point in his Oct. 16 speech, reprinted at his request in the Nov. 21 Commonwealth.

"The survival of Israel is a moral and political necessity and a priority for those who believe in democracy and internal order," Brewin said. "Until it is accepted . . . by all the nations concerned, no lasting peace can be secured."

Yet Brewin, so concerned that the "rights" of Israel as "an independent sovereign state" be respected, is emphatic in his denial of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. Commenting on the demand that the rights of the Palestinian people be respected, Brewin asked rhetorically: "What does this vague phrase imply? Israelis naturally enough, interpret as just another formula for the liquidation of Israel as a sovereign Jewish state." Maintaining a straight face, Brewin related the Zionist lie that the Palestinians abandoned their homeland for the refugee camps — of their own volition.

Israel was born in blood, created by imperialism as a bulwark against the Arab revolution through the Zionist expropriation of Palestine. It was founded by an act of aggression, and maintains itself by permanent aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. The very existence of the Zionist state is a denial of the Palestinians' right of self-determination.

FLEEING ISRAELI ARMY. More than a million Palestinian refugees subsist in squalor after being driven from their homeland by Israeli terror. Above, refugees crossing the Jordan river following 1967 war.

The great bulk of the Palestinian Arabs were robbed, terrorized and driven from Israel in 1948 and after, by the Zionists backed by imperialism. Some 1.3 million of them were exiled to the abject poverty of refugee camps, while the Zionist colonial settlers occupied their lands and expropriated their property.

The Zionist "law of return" opened Palestine to massive colonization by Jews from around the world, but the Palestinians were forbidden to return to their homeland. Those Palestinians who remained in Israel were subjected to national oppression, relegated to the status of second-class citizens.

The federal NDP caucus advocates a "settlement" of the Mideast conflict based on the November 1967 United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 242. The resolution calls for Israeli troops to be removed from territories occupied during the 1967 Six-Day War in return for "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries . . . ."

The thrust of the resolution is directly against the Palestinians; by accepting the state of Isarel, it completely denies their right to self-determination.

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To the pro-Zionist position of the NDP brass, the Commonwealth editor poses an alternative. "The Middle East dilemma," the Oct. 24 editorial states, "could be solved if the current state of Israel were reconstituted on a secular, non-racialist and non-exclusionist basis, with Jews and non-Jews accorded equal rights and status."

But having stated this proposition, which points in the direction of a solution to the crisis, Johnson allows confusion to creep into his position. "Israel," he says, "should abide by the November, 1967 Security Council Resolution (Number 242) and return the Arab territory."

The demand to return the Arab lands is correct. But all of Israel is "Arab territory." In conceding to Resolution . 242, for the sake of "realism," Johnson makes the error of calling on the Palestinians to sacrifice their rights. He seems not to understand the point of the resolution. On this point his position requires clarification.

The Nov. 7 Canadian Tribune, which reflects the views of the Communist Party of Canada, jumped into the debate in the NDP by reprinting the Commonwealth editorial, with an editorial of its own drawing David Lewis's attention to "this thoughtful, sober approach."

In an Oct. 9 statement, the CP's Central Executive Committee has stated its position in favor of Resolution 242. If the Commonwealth is ambiguous on the meaning of the resolution, the CP has no such confusion. Resolution 242, said the CP's leading body, is "the only sound basis for bringing about a just and durable peace in the Middle East, a peace based, not on annexation, but on the guaranteed security of all countries, **including the State of Israel**, and on recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine." (emphasis added)

The Communist party position only reaffirms the historic betrayal of the Palestinians in which Moscow and the Communist parties around the world collaborated with imperialism in establishing the colonial-settler Zionist state in 1948.

There can be no peace, no lasting settlement of the Mideast crisis, which is based on the continued oppression of the Palestinians. Short of allowing the Palestinians the right to control their homeland and creating a democratic and secular Palestine, the bloodshed will continue, and there can be no security for Arabs or Jews.

Despite some confusion in his position, the Commonwealth's editor has taken a positive initiative. Members of the NDP sympathetic to the Palestinian cause should take advantage of the discussion opened by the Commonwealth to educate the NDP membership on the roots of the Mideast crisis, and force the NDP leaders to reverse their pro-Zionist policies.

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labor Challenge #92 Dec 1973

H. Allende on tour:

'Open the doors to Chile refugees!'

The Canada-wide tour organized for Hortensia Allende, widow of the murdered Chilean president, was an overwhelming success. The largest meeting was in Montreal, where more than 4,500 people attended. About 1,600 attended the Toronto meeting; 1,400 turned out in Vancouver, and 1,000 attended the meeting in Ottawa.

Allende was unable to speak at a scheduled meeting in Winnipeg, Dec. 5, going instead to the U.S. to seek an agreement with West Coast longshoremen, as she had done in Vancouver, to boycott all shipments to and from Chile. However 500 people turned out to hear Hernan Ortega and Dario Pulgar, members of the Chilean Socialist party, who have been allowed into Canada.

Everywhere she spoke, Allende emphasized the need for an international campaign against the junta. She repeatedly called on the Canadian government to open its doors to the thousands of refugees from military terror.

Speaking in Toronto, Allende stated that there have been 20,000 deaths at the hands of the junta since the Sept. 11 coup. The junta, she said, "has submerged our country in a climate of terror and savagery without historical precedent."

She particularly appealed to Canadians to help the victims of the terror. "Make your government save the people who are languishing in my country's prisons, facing death and torture. Help those seeking to flee the country, but who are unable to leave," she asked the Dec. 1 Montreal rally.

Despite initial attempts by organizers to exclude forces from the Dec. 2 Vancouver rally, it was a united and successful action. More than 1,400 attended. Among the endorsers, all of whom were represented on the platform, were: Chile Solidarity Committee; Canadians for a Democratic Chile; Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; NDP Vancouver Area Council; the Vancouver and District Labor Council; the Communist party; the League for Socialist Action; the Young Socialists; and the Spartacus Bookstore. Among the speakers was NDP MLA Rosemary Brown, who spoke on behalf of the B.C. government.

HORTENSIA ALLENDE applaudes another speaker at Vancouver rally. Beside her on platform are Brian Campbell of NDP Area council, left, and Alderman Harry Rankin. At far right, Werner Steinmetz, of political prisoners committee.

No small factor in the success of the Allende tour was the fact that the meetings were generally sponsored by a broad range of organizations. Sponsorship was open to all groups. This marked an important step forward and a break with sectarian attempts to exclude forces from the campaign against the repression in Chile.

The Communist party in particular has tried to exclude from the Chile campaign everyone to its left, everyone who rejects the CP's uncritical adulation of Allende's government. Forced against their will into united actions for the Allende tour, the CP has since indicated its intention to pursue its exclusionist policy.

The Canadian Tribune, a newspaper reflecting the views of the CP, carried a large report on the Toronto meeting in its Dec. 5 issue, including a long list of the sponsors of the meeting. All the organizations which the CP wanted to exclude, including the League for Socialist Action, are simply excluded from the Tribune list. Even the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which played a major role in building the meeting, has disappeared from the Tribune's list of sponsors.

—J.C.

labor Challenge #92 Dec 1973

Political prisoners committee sets out plans

Ian Angus is editor of Latin American Political Prisoners Report, newsletter of the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Labor Challenge interviewed him on Dec. 8.

Question. How has CCLA responded to the coup in Chile?

Answer. Since our founding in Spring, 1972, CCLA has been primarily an educational group, publicizing important cases of political repression. For example, we helped to publicize the case of Humberto Pagan, a Puerto Rican in Canada that the U.S. was trying to extradite on frame-up charges; and we organized a Canada-wide speaking tour for Daniel Zadunaisky, a member of the Argentine Committee to Free Political Prisoners, to talk about repression in his country. But we were not involved in any really large-scale campaigns.

The coup in Chile changed all that. For the first time in many years there is very wide interest in Canada about the situation in Latin America. Many new activists have begun to participate in CCLA activities. So we decided to really gear up our work.

We've helped organize teach-ins and meetings in many parts of the country. We helped to organize Hortensia Allende's speaking tour in a number of areas, for example. And now we have taken on some long-term projects related to Chile. We support all efforts for united actions against the repression.

Q. What are your primary concerns now?

A. Right now we're working on three main things. First, broad-scale education. We've launched a printed newspaper, Latin American Political Prisoners Report, which we hope to make a regular publication starting in the new year. The first issue was very well received. As well, we are circulating information on Chile, lists of political prisoners and fugitives in Chile, urging people to protest the denial of human rights in Chile.

Luis Vitale in grave danger

Among the thousands of political prisoners whose lives are in danger in Chile, there are a number of political and cultural figures whose cases are being specially publicized by the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CCLA). This effort has put the spotlight on the repression in Chile and maximizes the possibility of saving the lives of these and other victims of the reactionary junta.

Among the cases being singled out are those of Marxist scholars Luis Vitale and Hector Gutierrez. Both are professors and authors who have long been active in the labor movement. They are members of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

Both are being held incommunicado, and reports from Chile indicate that Gutierrez is expected to face a military tribunal in the near future, if he hasn't already. Vitale is reported to have been repeatedly and severely beaten. Friends and supporters of Vitale and Gutierrez have asked for international support for demands that organizations such as the Red Cross and Amnesty International be permitted to interview them, to determine the state of their health, and to inform the world of their situation.

CCLA has called on Canadian universities to offer teaching positions to Vitale, Gutierrez and other Chilean intellectuals, as part of a campaign to win their freedom and safe conduct out of Chile.

Another political figure whose plight CCLA is focusing on is Chilean Communist party leader Luis Corvalan. According to reports in the Soviet newspaper Pravda, Corvalan has been taken to the notorious island prison of Dawson in the subarctic zone of Chile. Prisoners in this concentration camp have little chance of survival.

CCLA asks that organizations and individuals send telegrams or letters of protest concerning these political prisoners to General Augusto Pinochet, c/ o Chilean Embassy, 56 Sparks St., Ottawa, with copies to CCLA, Box 38, Station B, Toronto.

LUIS VITALE. Life in grave danger.

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Second, we are working on a number of specific cases of refugees from Chile who want to come to Canada but who are being blocked by Canadian immigration policy. One man, who escaped from Chile to Mexico, was turned away at the Canadian embassy door in Mexico City, and told he would have to go to Jamaica to apply! So we are working to get cases like these raised with Immigration, to get sponsors for them, and so on. We are working with other organizations doing similar things, such as the Latin American Working Group.

And third, we are campaigning to get the Canadian government to do for Chilean refugees what it did for refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Uganda, admit them by the thousands, without all the usual red tape and security clearances. In those cases, Canada provided transportation and money to help the refugees settle. The government should do the same for Chileans.

Q. Manpower and Immigration Minister Andras has said that Canada is going to open its doors to refugees. What do you think about this announcement?

A. The Cabinet just issued that statement to get themselves off the hook. Actually they haven't changed their policies at all.

Two days after he made the announcement, Andras told the Canadian Press that all applicants would have to pass an RCMP "background check," and that no one "whose political beliefs lead to violence" would be let into Canada. That could include everyone who advocates resistance to the junta, from Liberals to Trotskyists.

The real meaning of Andras's statement can be seen in the fact that of 75 applicants now in refugee camps in Panama, only 20 have been approved so far. All the rest have to wait six weeks or more for their "background check." And in Mexico, where non-Chilean refugees have been given to the end of the year to get out of the country, the Canadian government isn't doing anything at all.

Of course, the fact that the Cabinet felt compelled to make a statement shows the impact of public pressure. Now we have to keep that pressure up to produce a policy change that's real, not just words.

Q. What can Labor Challenge readers do?

A. First, they can help get information out about the situation in Chile, in the prisons. They should sell our newspaper, get it into stores, and so on.

Second, where possible, we're asking people to set up local chapters of CCLA, to put defense of political prisoners on a continuing basis.

Third, we are now putting together a Canada-wide sponsors list, a list of prominent people who endorse the goals of CCLA and are willing to lend their names to help make its campaigns successful. Among those who have already agreed to become sponsors of the committee are Claire Culhane, author and anti-Vietnam war figure; Ray Haynes, former secretary-treasurer of the B.C. Federation of Labor; Harold Steves, NDP MLA in B.C.; as well as quite a few other labor, academic and student figures.

And fourth, of course we really need money to put out more material on the situation in Latin America, and to launch our newsletter as a regular periodical. Every donation is deeply appreciated.

Requests for information, for copies of our newsletter, donations, and sponsors' names should be sent to us at our new address: Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 38, Station B, Toronto.